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THE IMPACT OF EXURBANITE SETTLEMENT IN RURAL AREAS: A CASE STUDY IN THE OTTAWA-MONTREAL AXIS

WORKING PAPER No. 22

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THE IMPACT OF EXURBANITE SETTLEMENT IN RURAL AREAS:
A CASE STUDY IN THE OTTAWA-MONTREAL AXIS

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ABSTRACT

The migration of urban people to urban-shadow areas in Canada represents a reversal of rural population trends. The impact of this resettlement can be both favourable and unfavourable.

A resettlement of the eastern Ontario/western Quebec study area from 1972 to 1979 was mainly generated by exurbanites from Montreal and Ottawa. This resettlement has generally strengthened rural socio-economic infrastructures and maintained farmland in agricultural use. However, the demand for primarily subdivided properties is decreasing the availability and increasing the value of quality farmland. While farmers may turn to land rental, short-term agreements contribute to exploitation of the soil resource. The anticipation of higher land values could also contribute further to economic uncertainty and eventually to a lowering of agricultural productivity.

Possibly because hobby farmers have an attachment to the land itself, their impact seems to be greater and more favourable than that of rural non-farm residents. The effects of resettlement on each side of the provincial border and throughout the study area vary according to both the characteristics of the area and the exurbanites' intentions.

This preliminary assessment does not address the long-term impact of resettlement. In later stages, dissatisfaction among resettlers and the farming community may cause further land-market activity and unforeseen effects. Considerably higher fuel prices would also affect the exurbanites' willingness to move to or to continue to live in rural areas. Nevertheless, this study indicates that resettlement in areas of high quality and productive agricultural land is an issue of national concern.

RÉSUMÉ

La migration de citadins vers les zones grises rurales du Canada renverse le mouvement de la population rurale. Les effets du repeuplement sont à la fois favorables et défavorables.

Le repeuplement de la zone étudiée de l'est de l'Ontario et de l'Ouest du Québec, de 1972 à 1979, est dû principalement aux ex-citadins de Montréal et d'Ottawa. Dans l'ensemble, il a renforcé les infrastructures socio-économiques rurales et maintenu les terres agricoles en culture. Cependant, la principale demande de lotissements qui est volumineuse, fait diminuer la superficie des terres agricoles de qualité et augmenter leur valeur. La perspective de l'augmentation de la valeur foncière pourrait aussi favoriser l'incertitude économique et conduire à une diminution de la productivité agricole. Bien que les fermiers puissent se tourner vers l'affermage, les ressources du sol sont exploitées grâce à des accords à court terme.

Peut-être que les fermiers de plaisance ont un attachement à la terre. L'effet semble plus important et plus favorable que celui des habitants des zones rurales qui n'exploitent pas de ferme. Les répercussions du repeuplement dans chaque province et dans toute la zone étudiée varient selon les caractéristiques de la zone et des intentions des ex-citadins.

Cette évaluation préliminaire ne traite pas des effets à long terme du repeuplement. Éventuellement, le mécontentement entre les nouveaux arrivants et la communauté agricole pourrait entraîner une nouvelle activité sur le marché foncier ainsi que des effets imprévus. L'augmentation marquée du coût du combustible devrait aussi influencer la décision des citadins d'immigrer vers les zones rurales ou de continuer d'y vivre. Néanmoins, l'étude démontre que le repeuplement dans les zones agricoles de grande qualité et d'une grande productivité est un phénomène d'intérêt national.

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CHAPTER 1 EXURBANITE SETTLEMENT IN RURAL AREAS: AN OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

In most of the developed world, populations have become concentrated in cities. A recent estimate in Canada shows that by the year 2000, 90% of the population will live on less than 2% of the land area (Science Council of Canada, 1977). With progress in transportation and communication, cities have grown into urban areas (Hodge, 1974; Gertler, 1977), physically encroaching on rural land at the urban fringe. In a coincidence brought about by historical settlement patterns, those rural lands in proximity to urban areas have the highest capability for agriculture in Canada (Manning and McCuaig, 1977; Neimanis, 1979). Indeed, of the total land converted to urban use from 1966 to 1976, over 62% had high agricultural capability (Gierman, 1981). More importantly, urban areas are found among the most productive agricultural lands in Canada (Manning and McCuaig, 1979). This coincidence is the source of many urban/rural land-use conflicts which, to the detriment of agriculture, remain largely unresolved.

While the most obvious effects of urbanization occur in the urban fringe, a more subtle urbanization takes place in the urban shadow between the urban fringe and truly rural areas. Non-farm, land-ownership change (Russwurm, 1974; Gertler, 1977) has received less attention: this is the back-to-the-land movement of exurbanites seeking a change of lifestyle within commuting distance of urban employment. This report will examine the characteristics of exurbanite settlement in a rural area of the urban shadow in order to determine the amount of change brought about by this more subtle resettlement process. The paper will include an analysis of change not only in the farmland resource itself (e.g., area and quality of land involved, land use, land values), but in the local economy and community as well (e.g., effects on socio-economic infrastructures such as farm support services). An approach that recognizes the physical, social, and economic elements of the rural/agricultural system will allow us to determine the overall impact of this resettlement pattern.

1.2 Resettlement in Canada

A Canadian geographer, Gerald Walker, (1976) has captured the essence of the migration of exurbanites to rural areas in the term resettlement. Over the past century, rural/agricultural areas in North America have been depopulated through a general and continuing rural-to-urban migration of farm populations. In recent years, the countervailing trend of urban-to-rural migration by exurbanites has, in effect, produced a resettlement of the countryside. Thus, even though farm populations continue to decrease, as shown in Figure 1.1, the total rural population in Canada has been relatively stable because of the increase in non-farmers, both exurbanites and those who have left farming.

The phenomenon of resettlement has been observed throughout North America (Hart, 1975). In Canada, it has been recognized and examined over wide areas in the Maritime provinces (Redpath, 1974), Quebec (Dion, 1976; Gaudreau, 1976; Brunet, 1980), Ontario

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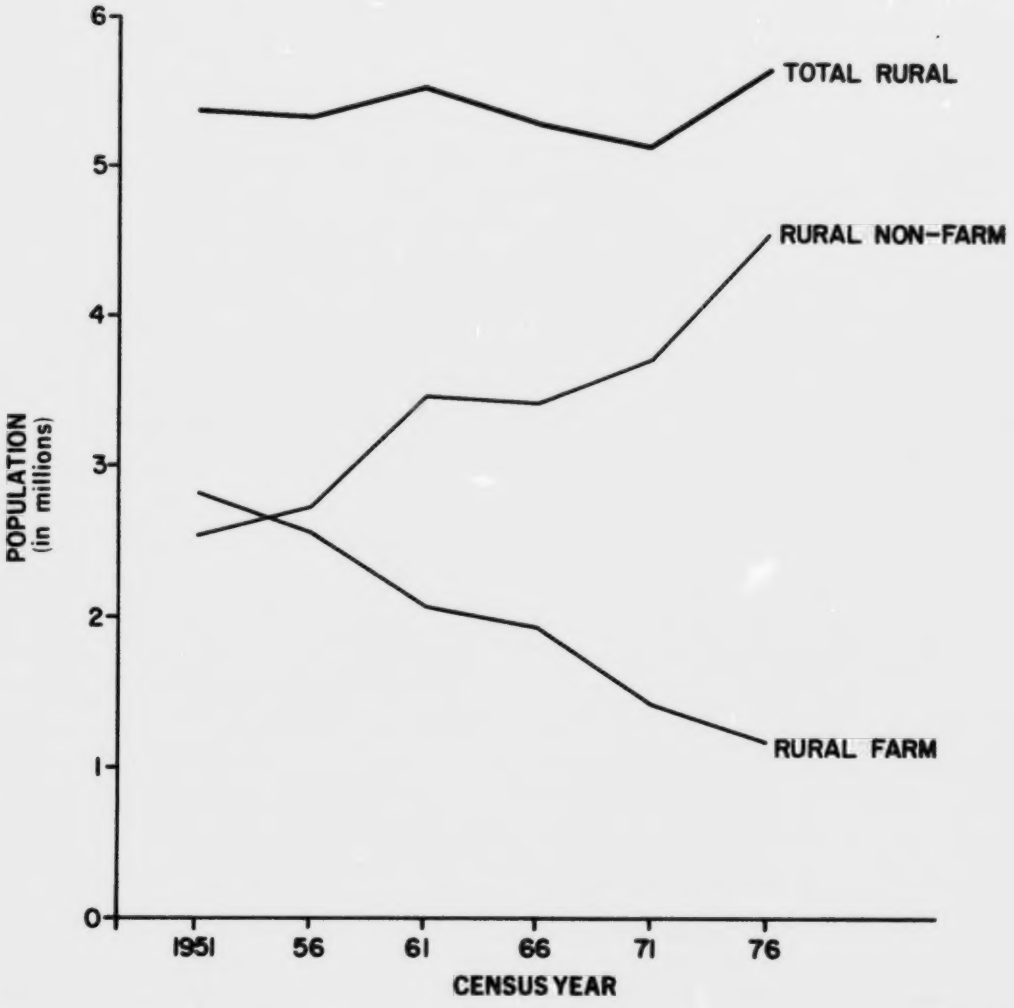
Figure 1-1 Canada's Rural Population
1951-1976



Source: Statistics Canada, 1976.

(Gray et al., 1972; Found and Morley, 1972; Punter, 1974; Fuller and Mage, 1975; Rodd, 1976a, b; Troughton, 1976b; Brown, 1977; Walker, 1976, 1977, 1979), the Prairies (Carvalho, 1974; Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs, 1977a, b; Moncrieff and Phillips, 1972; Diemer, 1974; Miller and Arthur, 1974), and British Columbia (Gibson, 1976; Manning and Eddy, 1979). However, with a few exceptions (Troughton, 1976a; Brunet, 1980), little research has closely examined the effects of resettlement. This deficiency has been noted by several researchers (Punter, 1974; Bryant, 1976; Russwurm, 1976) and may be due to the analysis of rural areas from a predominately urban perspective. More specifically, it seems to be the result of a fragmentary rather than an holistic approach to the examination of resettlement.

Consequently, much of the research has yielded somewhat different perceptions of the effects of resettlement in rural areas. Resettlement has been seen by some as the leading edge of greater urbanization and by others as a boon to rural areas seriously weakened by farm depopulation. A brief review of some of the perspectives on resettlement will serve to introduce the subject more thoroughly. The interested reader is referred for more detail to The Influence of Exurbanite Settlement on Rural Areas: A Review of the Canadian Literature (McRae, 1980).

1.3 Perspectives on Resettlement

There are essentially two types of resettlement described in the literature: non-farm residences and hobby farms. Usually isolated, non-farm residences of one-half to 12 hectares (Moncrieff and Philips, 1972; Russwurm, 1976) are associated with aesthetically attractive land or with agricultural land. Those resettlers who combine the desire for a rural residence with self-sufficiency and/or some measure of farming have been grouped together under the term hobby farmers. Usually their land holdings are greater than 12 hectares and have a higher capability for agriculture than the properties of rural non-farm residents (Troughton, 1976a). In practice, it is difficult to differentiate consistently between the types of resettlement, since individual desires and motivations make it entirely possible to be a rural resident one year and a hobby farmer the next. Nevertheless, during the course of the study, we will examine differences between the types of resettlers based on a theoretical differentiation of 12 hectares.

While most studies agree that direct losses of farmland to rural, non-farm residences are small (Gray et al., 1972; Miller and Arthur, 1974; Rodd, 1976a), the larger hobby farms may affect a significant area of land. Some feel that the amenity agriculture practiced by hobby farmers (e.g., horses) is a less intensive use of agricultural land than conventional agriculture (Brown, 1977). However, hobby farmers are often regarded as good stewards of their land and as allies of commercial agriculture (Punter, 1974; Hart, 1975). Fuller and Mage (1975), Walker (1979), and Brunet (1980), among others, feel that the part-time farming practiced by hobby farmers may be an important part of the agricultural structure of rural areas.

It is generally conceded that there could be serious problems in areas where farmland values have risen in response to resettler demand (e.g., Rodd, 1976a, b). The resulting increase in the price of farmland means that

young farmers find it difficult to enter agriculture, older farmers are induced to leave, and those remaining cannot afford to enlarge their holdings. Often the only alternative for farmers is to rent land from other farmers, non-resident landowners, or resettlers.

In many areas, extensive land rental from resettlers has been noted (Russwurm, 1970; Punter, 1974; Brown, 1977) which, along with the demand by resettlers for custom work, may be evidence of a symbiotic relationship between farmers and non-farmers (Layton, 1976). However, due to a lack of absolute control over rented land and to uncertainty about its future, farmers tend to make few improvements or long-range plans for its use. This may lead to lower productivity and depletion of soil fertility (Andarawewa, 1969; Parsons, 1975; Hart, 1975). Uncertainty and lower productivity could also result simply because of the anticipation of non-farm, land-ownership change (Sinclair, 1967; Berry, et al., 1976).

As with the farmland resource itself, there are differing views of the socio-economic impact of resettlement. The repopulation of the countryside often leads to a general strengthening of such rural socio-economic infrastructures as schools, churches, and farm-support services. On the other hand, some writers feel that more farmers may be displaced and farm- support services further weakened (Rawson, 1976; Berry, et al., 1976).

The increased flow of revenue in the rural economy may provide general economic stimulus (Hodge, 1974) and, for example, new jobs. However, exurbanites' backgrounds often enable them to compete effectively for new jobs (Kirschenbaum, 1971), thus denying benefits to longer-term residents.

In spite of their intentions to get back to the land and to a simpler way of life, the resettlers tend to bring with them urban values and lifestyles that conflict with traditional rural lifestyles in the community (Walker, 1977; McRae, 1977). It is widely recognized that the resettlers' participation in the community is intended to preserve and protect rural landscapes and values (e.g., Greber, 1974), though the common perception of rural/agricultural areas as being quiet, clean, fragrant, and free of responsibility (e.g., for fences) conflicts with the reality of commercial agriculture (Rawson, 1976; Troughton, 1976).

In summary, much of the evidence regarding the impact of resettlement is conflicting and contradictory. It may well be that the impact of resettlement is dependent on the characteristics of the rural area, the characteristics of the resettlers, and the perception of the writer. On the other hand, conflicting evidence could arise from the lack of detailed studies of the overall impact of resettlement on the local community and economy and on the farmland resource. Consequently, there is little basis for a general characterization of the resettlement of rural areas.

1.4 Rationale for the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of resettlement on the farmland resource and on the local community and economy of a rural area. In the process of analyzing resettlement, the paper will

address some of the subjects outlined in previous research, including variations between rural non-farm residents and hobby farmers. It is hoped that the results will fulfill some of the needs identified and stimulate further interest in the similar studies called for by many writers (Troughton, 1976; Bryant, 1976; Russwurm, 1976). Eventually, some general characteristics of this widespread phenomenon will emerge that should be of use in rural and resource planning in Canada. This study is intended to contribute substantially towards that goal.

1.5 Report Organization

Chapter 2 is in two parts: the introduction to the study area and the study methodology. Chapter 3 is primarily an analysis of the socio-economic characteristics, motivations, and intentions of the resettlers. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the actual impact of resettlement on the farmland resource and on the local community and economy. These latter chapters form the central part of the study. The attitudes and reactions of the farming community are examined in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 concludes with a review and assessment of the results of the study.

CHAPTER 2 THE STUDY METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

Through consultation with officials of the Lands Directorate, a study area was chosen in eastern Ontario and western Quebec between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers within a 100 kilometer (60 mile) radius of Montreal (see Map 1). This primarily rural area forms part of the central portion of the Windsor-Quebec axis described by Yeates (1975) in Mainstreet: Windsor to Quebec City.

The area was chosen for a three reasons. First of all, the region is relatively isolated from direct urban influence, yet, from previous work (McRae, 1977), it is known to be subject to resettlement pressures from Montreal. Second, the area is generally typical of rural/agricultural areas in the Windsor-Quebec axis. Thus, it was reasoned that the observed impact of resettlement here might be generalized over broader areas in Ontario and Quebec. Third, the choice of this border region gives us a means of comparing the impact of resettlement under different provincial jurisdictions.

Once the general area was selected, three other criteria were used to determine the study area boundaries. Resettlement data were not available for Soulanges County in Quebec, so it was excluded. Urban-fringe areas near Cornwall, Hawkesbury, and Montreal were also excluded because they are strongly affected by urbanization. Similarly, urbanization along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers is associated less with resettlement than with transportation (e.g., Highways 401 and 17), water-based recreation, and seasonal residences.

2.1 The Identification of Recent Resettlement and the Questionnaires

Preliminary research involved the identification of urban dwellers who purchased land in the study area--in Ontario, from 1972 to 1979, and in Quebec, from 1974 to 1979. Identification occurred in two stages.

First, the microfilm records of Teela Market Surveys in Toronto and Montreal were used to record the name and address of each land buyer on the date of sale. The simple criterion to be included on this list was that their address be urban (i.e., an address in metropolitan Montreal, metropolitan Ottawa, Cornwall, Hawkesbury, or another urban centre). This was accompanied by recording other information regarding the location and size of the property involved and the value of the transaction.

Second, the list of landowners and their addresses was compared to similar lists on tax-assessment rolls in each township of the study area. If, from the date of sale to 1979, these landowners had moved to the study area, they were classed as resettlers and potential survey respondents. Of course, if they had not, they remained non-resident landowners. This investigation was followed by the development of a questionnaire survey.

The survey was designed to obtain information regarding the physical and socio-economic impact of resettlement from at least two different points-of-view: from the exurbanites themselves and from the

longer-term farming community. It was therefore necessary to develop two questionnaires. The questionnaire administered to the exurbanites is reproduced in Appendix I.

Questions regarding the impact of resettlement on the farmland resource were designed to determine the land-market activity of the resettlers (i.e., how much land they had bought and sold) and their effects on the rental of farmland and on the use of their own land. Questions regarding the socio-economic impact of resettlement included: age, marital status, education, occupation, and income of the respondents; their reasons for purchasing land and moving to a rural area; their involvement in farming; their expenditures in the study area; their community involvement. There was also a short series of questions about the previous owners of the properties purchased by the exurbanites, since this would give some valuable information about the reasons for the sale of rural land.

An important component of the first questionnaire is the element of change. This included a series of before-and-after questions regarding:

a) land use on the date of purchase, at present, and projected, to determine effects on land use;
b) the occupation, commuting times and distances, and location of work on the date of purchase and at present, to determine compromises made for the change of residence;
c) community involvement and expenditures in the rural area, to date and projected, to determine social and economic impact.

A second brief questionnaire was developed to determine the attitudes and opinions of the longer-term farming community towards resettlement in the study area (see Appendix II). The first part of the questionnaire dealt with aspects of the farm operation, the importance of land rental to the operation, and the effects of changes in the price of farmland. Specific questions regarding the exurbanites and their impact were contained in the second part of the questionnaire.

2.2 Sample Selection and Survey

From the preliminary research, a total number of about 650 resettlers were identified in the study area: 595 in Ontario and 55 in Quebec. Using a table of random numbers, a 20% stratified sample was chosen, based on the proportion of the total number of resettlers in each township. A total of 126 resettlers were interviewed: 113 in Ontario and 13 in Quebec. This allowed a limited assessment of resettlement in a transborder area. Lists of farmers in the study area were provided by the Ontario Federation of Agriculture and by the Quebec Ministry of Agriculture. The total number of full-time farmers in the study area was about 1200; using a table of random numbers, a stratified sample of about 8% was chosen, based again on the proportion of the total number of resettlers in each township. Resettlers and farmers who could not initially be contacted were kept on separate lists to be contacted at a later date. If that was not possible, an additional random list was used to select respondents.

Each questionnaire was tested during a brief

pilot survey in the latter part of August, 1979, and the survey itself was conducted during the months of September, October, and November, 1979. Upon completion of the survey, the results were coded and keypunched for computer analysis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) system of programs. The program included use of the sub-programs CONDESCRIPTIVE, FREQUENCIES, and CROSSTABS (Nie, et al.) to obtain the necessary information about the resettlers and their impact on the study area.

2.3 The Study Area*

The original settlement of the area occurred at different periods of time (see Cartwright, 1977). The earliest settlers were the French in Vaudreuil County in the 1600s. Glengarry and, later, Stormont counties were settled by Scots and other British from the late 1700s to the mid-1800s. The County of Prescott was gradually colonized by settlers from crowded Quebec parishes who began to replace the westward moving British in Glengarry County.

The population of the study area continues to be dominated by people of French and British origin who form relatively close-knit communities around church, school, cultural, and agricultural functions. The only major towns in the study area are Alexandria (pop. 3500) and Vankleek Hill (pop. 1600). Although there are some light industries, these two communities are primarily service and distribution centres for a wide rural area. As would be expected, metropolitan Montreal and Ottawa, both within 48 kilometers of the study area, exert considerable influence in this rural area.

The physiography of the area is characterized by two types of topography. In the central part, undulating to gently rolling till plains predominate, while a generally level landscape lies to the northwest and southeast near the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers.

The Canada Land Inventory rates agricultural land in Canada from class 1 through to class 7, according to its capability to support commercial agriculture. Class 1 land has the highest capability, while class 7 has little or no agricultural capability. Under this classification, 63% of the land in the study area has a medium to high capability for agriculture; this includes about 5% class 1, 20% class 2, and 38% class 3 land. However, the proportion of class 1 to 3 land varies markedly over the study area, from highs in Lochiel Township (87%) and the Quebec portion of the study area (83%) to lows in North Plantagenet (35%) and Caledonia (43%) townships. The primary limitation to agriculture under this classification is a lack of adequate natural drainage, particularly in the level areas to the northwest and southeast. This limitation has been largely overcome through the widespread introduction of tile drainage.

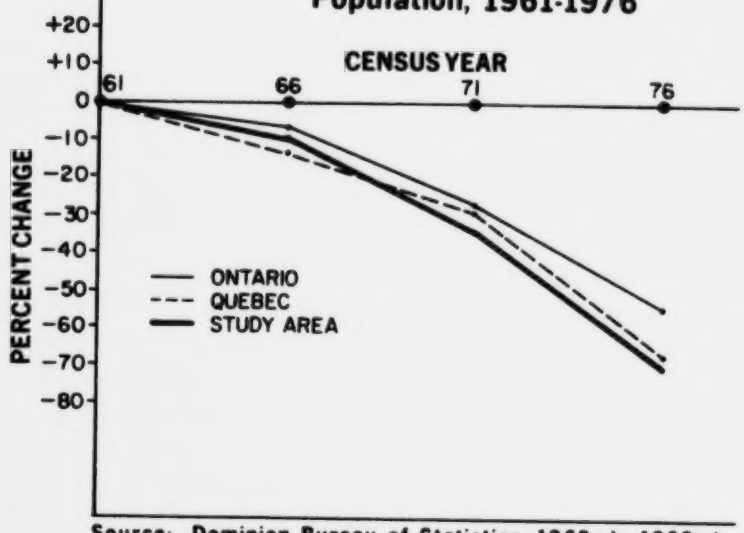
2.3.1 Agriculture in the Study Area: 1961 to 1976

As has been common in most rural/agricultural regions in Canada, this area has experienced a general decline in farm population, farm numbers, and farmland area. This decline over recent years is indicated in Figures 2.1 to 2.4 and in Table 2.1 (Appendix III).* The

* All statistics in this section were measured at the level of Census Subdivisions (i.e., Townships)

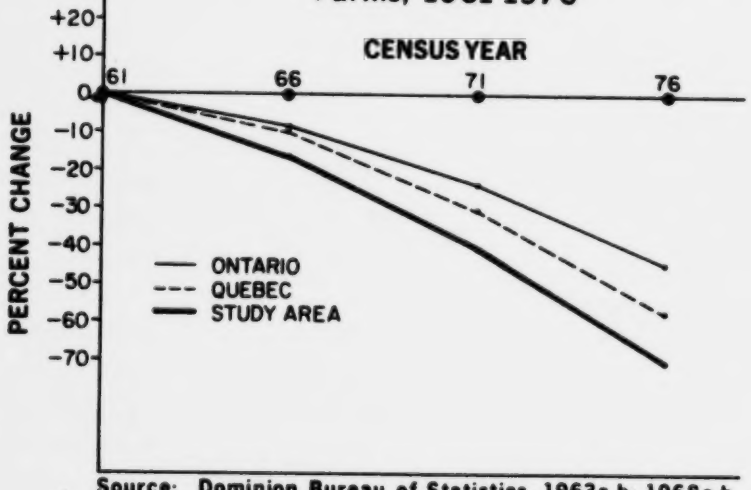
* All tables are in Appendix III.

Figure 2-1 Percent Change in Farm Population, 1961-1976



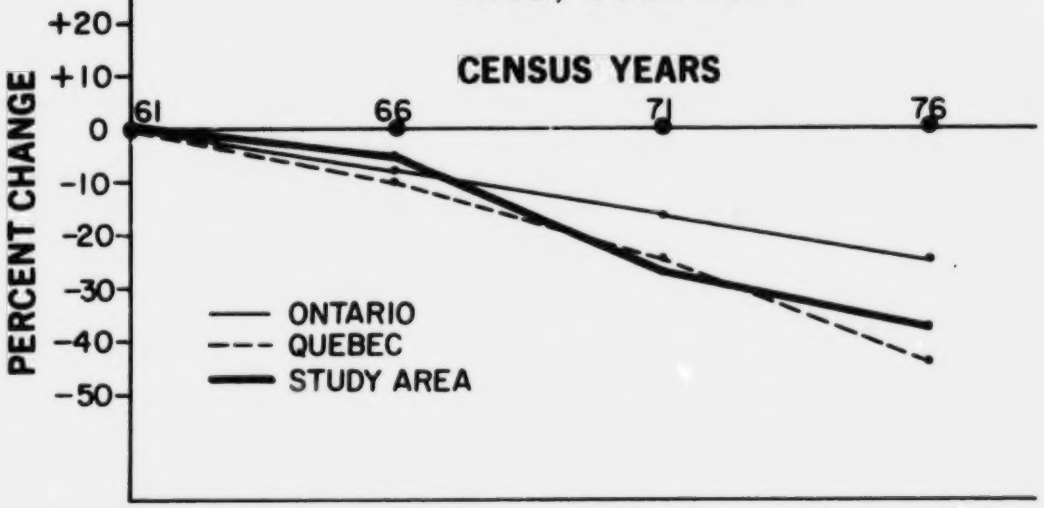
Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968a,b. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

Figure 2-2 Percent Change in Number of Farms, 1961-1976



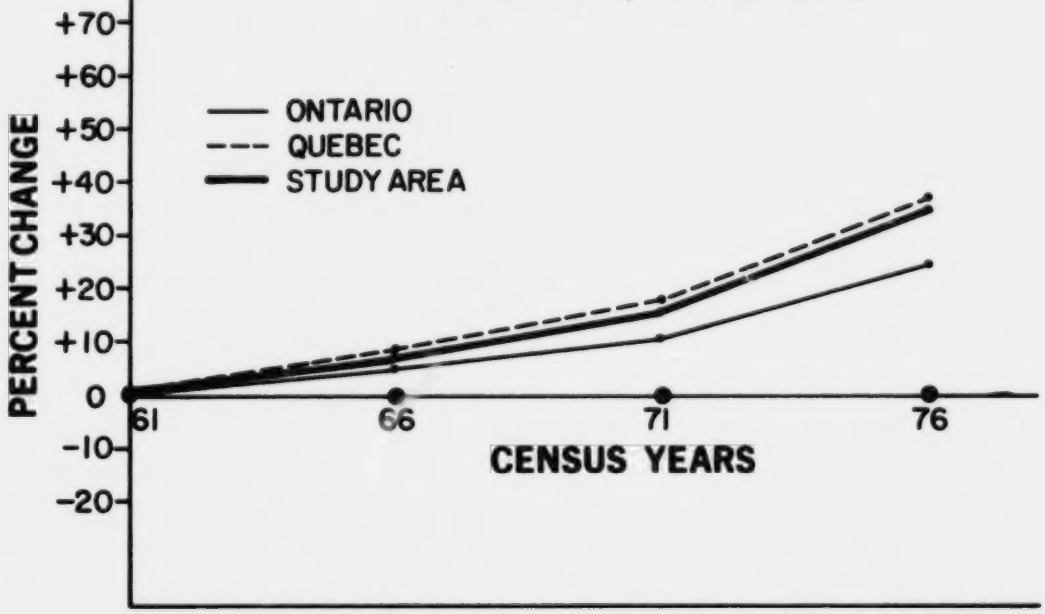
Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968a,b. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

Figure 2-3 Percent Change in Farmland Area, 1961-1976



Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968a,b. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

Figure 2-4 Percent Change in Average Farm Size, 1961-1976



Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968a,b. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

rates of decline in this area are higher than rates in Ontario generally, but lower than in the province of Quebec. Over the study period, there were significant losses of farm population and farm numbers; however, the area of land in farms decreased at lower rates, reflecting an almost 40% increase in average farm size from about 61 hectares to 85 hectares over the period from 1961 to 1976. During the same period of time, average farm size in Ontario grew by 25% to 77 hectares and in Quebec by over 41% to 84 hectares. Increases in farm size, despite reductions in the farm population, have been made possible through the mechanization of farm operations. In fact, the maintenance of farm viability has come about partly through farm enlargement.

There are several variations within the study area. While the farm population fell more quickly on the Quebec side than on the Ontario side, the total number of farms declined at about the same rate, and the rate of farmland loss was lower in Quebec. Farm size grew at about the same rate, though the average farms are presently smaller on the Quebec side than on the Ontario side (70 hectares and 87 hectares respectively). The rates of loss in farm population, farm numbers, and farmland area are generally higher, and farm size increases lower, in the townships close to the urban areas of Cornwall and Hawkesbury.

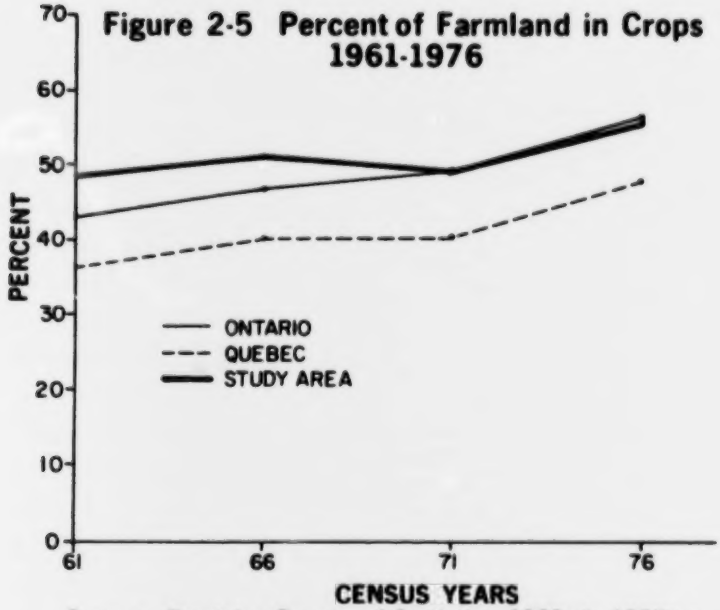
The decrease in the area of land in farms, a general feature of the entire study area even in isolated townships such as Kenyon, is a definite indication of an increase in the amount of idle or abandoned farmland and, as such, is of some importance to the study. Nevertheless, the land in the study area is still predominantly in agricultural use.

The general uses of farmland in the study area are indicated in Table 2.2 (see Appendix III). Although there was an increase in cropland area from 1961 to 1966, the area of land in all reported farm uses declined in the 10 years between 1961 and 1971. From 1971 to 1976, total farmland area and the area in improved pasture, other improved, and in unimproved land continued to decrease, while the area in cropland increased in both absolute and proportional terms.

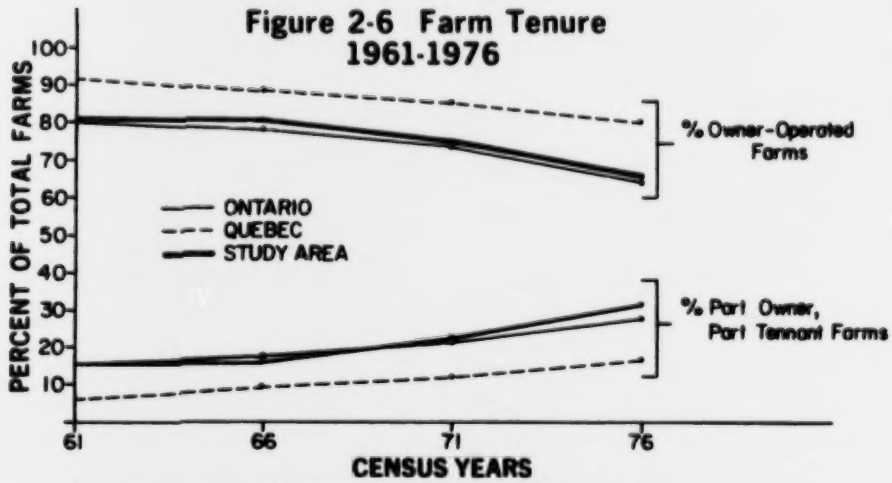
Here, again, there are some variations within the study area. While the proportion of total farmland in crops increased in every township, there were decreases in the area of cropland in some townships on the Ontario side (e.g., Cornwall and West Hawkesbury). The part of the study area in Quebec had the highest increases in the proportion of cropland, much higher than the provincial figures. In 1976, the Quebec side had the highest proportion (70%) of land in crops in the study area.

The absolute and proportional increases in cropland represent a general intensification of agriculture in the study area, especially from 1971 to 1976. As indicated in Figure 2.5, much the same pattern exists generally in Ontario and Quebec. Thus, while farm populations, farm numbers, and farmland area have declined, remaining farms have become more viable, not only through increases in farm size but through the intensification of farmland use.

The types of farms in the study area, in Ontario and Quebec for 1976, are compared in Table 2.3. Almost 55% of the farms in the



Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968b,c. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.



Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963a,b; 1968b,c. Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

study area are dairy farms specializing in milk production. Cattle, hog, and sheep farms are a distant second at about 20%, and field-crop farms are third at over one-tenth of the total farms in the study area. This pattern exists on both sides of the provincial border in the study area. The proportions of farm types in the study area are remarkably similar to those in the province of Quebec as a whole, but quite different from Ontario. In Quebec, dairy farms predominate at over 52%, while in Ontario farm types are much more diversified.

Farm-tenure patterns in the study area, in Ontario and Quebec for the period from 1961 to 1976, are compared in Figure 2.6 and in Table 2.4. Over this period, the proportion of owner-operated farms in the study area has declined steadily, from about 80% in 1961 to about 66% in 1976. At the same time, the proportion of part-owner/part-tenant operations has almost doubled from 16% to over 31%. This is consistent with changing tenure patterns in both Ontario and Quebec. It is widely acknowledged that the increasing cost of farmland often makes it more practical to enlarge farm operations by renting land. A continuing trend towards tenant farming in the study area in Ontario and Quebec would, therefore, be expected.

Increases in the value of land and buildings on census farms in the study area are also of some importance. In Figures 2.7 and 2.8 and in Table 2.5, increases in the study area are compared to increases in Ontario and Quebec for the period from 1961 to 1976. In each year, the average value per hectare of land and buildings in the study area is considerably lower than in the province of Ontario, but higher than in the province of Quebec. Similarly, the rate of increase in this value (Figure 2.8) in the study area between 1961 and 1971 (109%) is lower than in Ontario (163%), but higher than in Quebec (83%). However, between 1971 and 1976, the average value per hectare of land and buildings in the study area rose more quickly at 162% than in either Ontario (143%) or Quebec (112%). Furthermore, while the value of land and buildings is higher on the Quebec side of the study area, the rate of increase is higher on the Ontario side, particularly in Glengarry County.

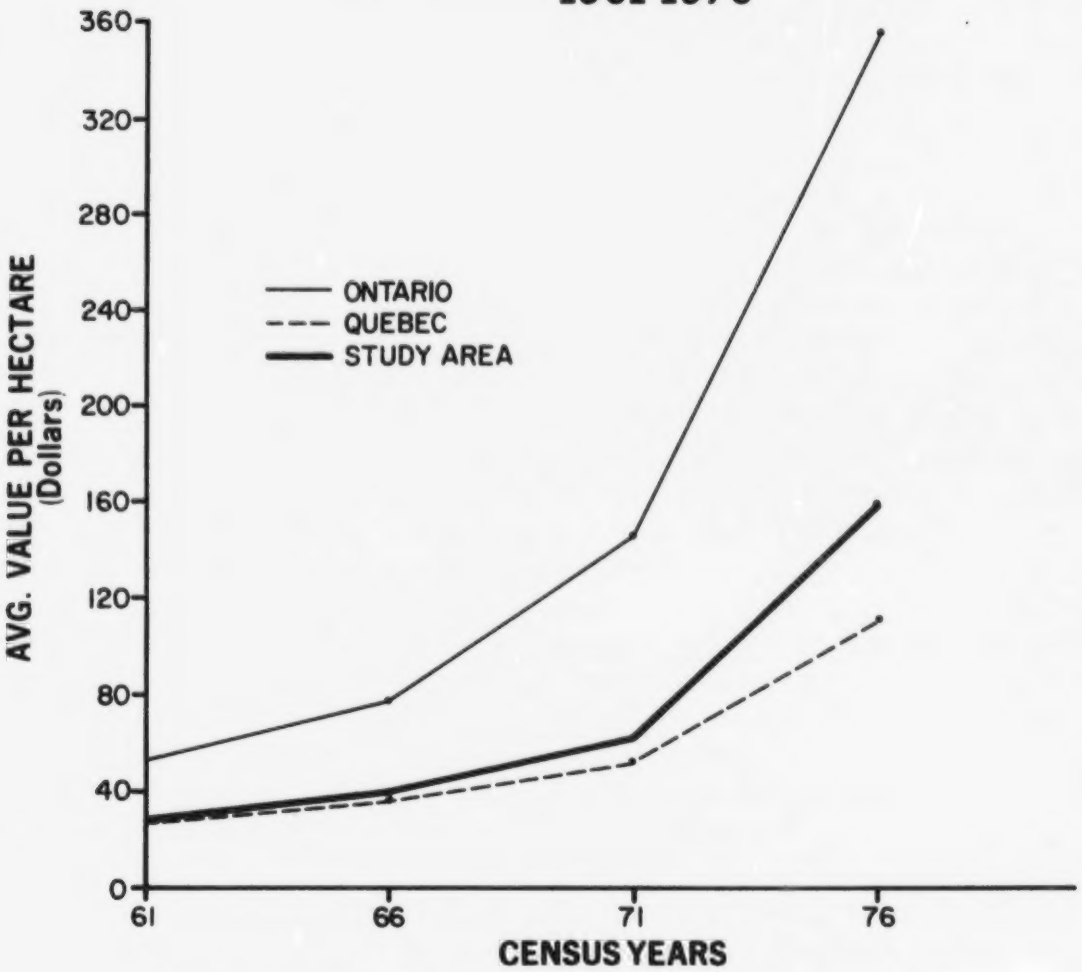
It is also evident, in Figure 2.8 and Table 2.5, that increases in farmland values from 1961 to 1976 far outstrip increases in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and the Farm Input Price Index (FIPI). Thus, only a part of land-value increases are accounted for by the general rate of inflation in Canada, as observed in a recent report by Manning and McCuaig (1979).

It has already been noted that rural land-market activity by exurbanites is a contributing factor in the inflation of land values (Rodd, 1976a). We shall see later that the resettlement of the study area by exurbanites is at least partly responsible for the sharp rise in the value of farmland and buildings from 1971 to 1976.

2.4 Summary

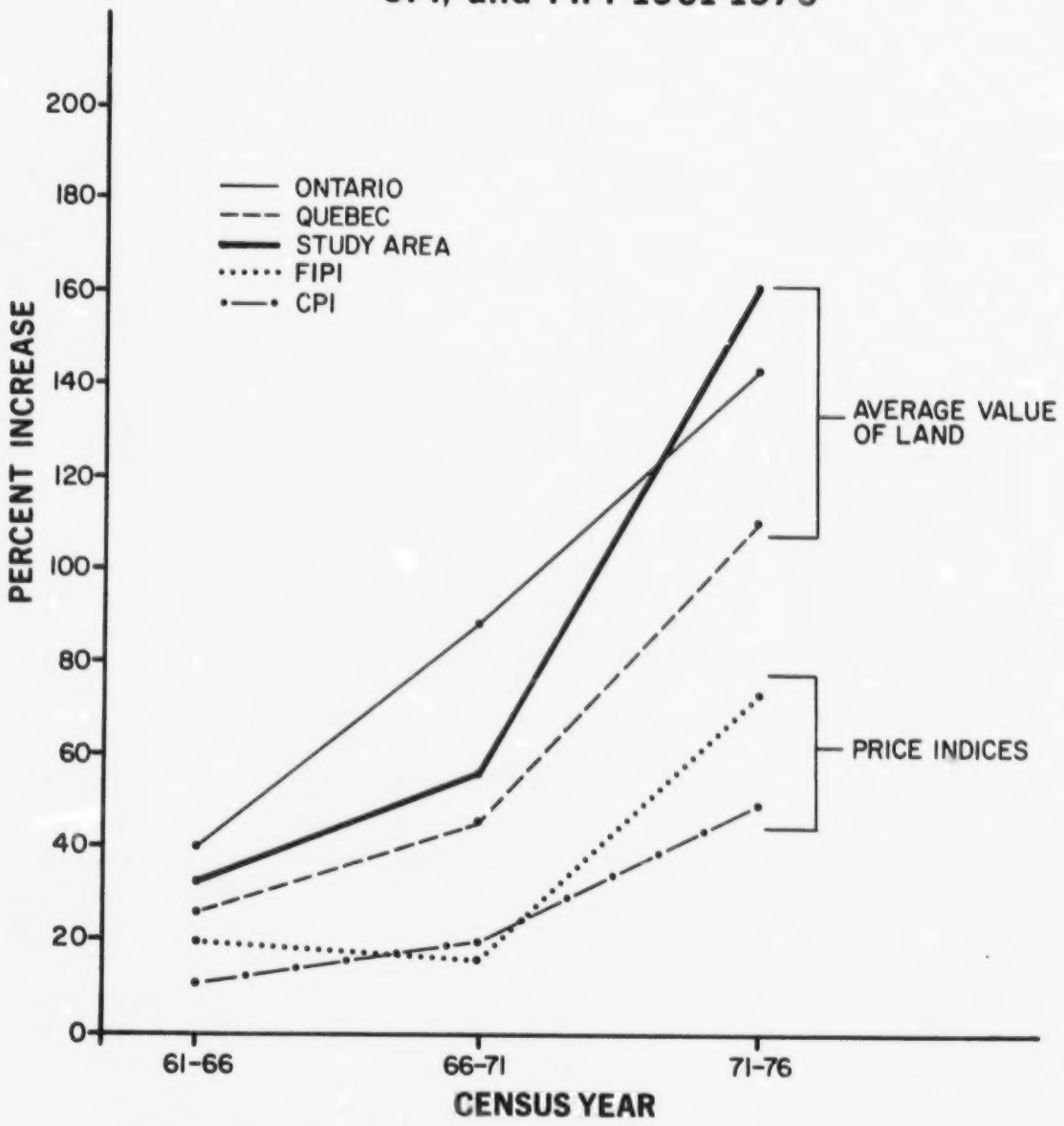
As in most rural areas of Canada, the study area has recently experienced a decline in farm population, number of farms, and area of land in farms. This has been due, for the most part, to the decline of agriculture itself rather than to the effects of urban

Figure 2-7 Changes in Average Value per Hectare of Land and Buildings 1961-1976



Source: Statistics Canada, 1973a,b; 1978a,b.

Figure 2-8 Percent Increase in Value of Land, CPI, and FIPI 1961-1976



Source: Statistics Canada. 1973a,b; 1978a,b,c.
Statistics Canada. Consumer Price Index. Special Computer Run.

growth (i.e., the loss of land to urban encroachment). At the same time, however, the viability of remaining farms in the study area has increased through farm enlargement and the intensification of land use. Greater farm viability has been accompanied by increases in farmland values and a trend towards part-owner/part-tenant farm operations. In light of this pattern, the study area is broadly representative of rural/agricultural areas in the Windsor-Quebec axis that are beyond the direct influence of urban growth; consequently, the study area can be considered an appropriate one in which to examine the effects of resettlement.

CHAPTER 3 THE RESETTLERS

In this chapter, the characteristics, motives, and intentions of the resettlers are analyzed. The differences between the rural residents and the hobby farmers will also be briefly examined. Using the property size definition in Chapter 1, of 126 respondents 62 were classified as rural residents and 64 as hobby farmers.

Preliminary research identifying potential survey respondents yielded the results indicated in Map 1; the extent of exurbanite influence in the land market between 1972 and 1979 can be readily observed. All of the symbols in Map 1 represent a purchase of land by a resident of either Montreal, Ottawa, Cornwall, Hawkesbury, or another urban centre. However, the solid symbols also indicate a change of residence to the study area and represent the resettlement population of 650 households from which the sample was drawn.

As expected, Map 1 shows that the resettlement of the area is dominated by people from metropolitan Montreal. Montreal effectively casts a proportionately larger urban shadow than do the smaller centres of Ottawa, Cornwall, and Hawkesbury. Analysis of the survey results revealed that over 70% of respondents had lived and worked in Montreal on the date of purchase. Average commuting times and distances for resettled Montrealers are greater than those for other commuters. This supports other research indicating that the larger the urban centre, the greater the time and distance commuters are willing to travel (Russwurm, 1976).

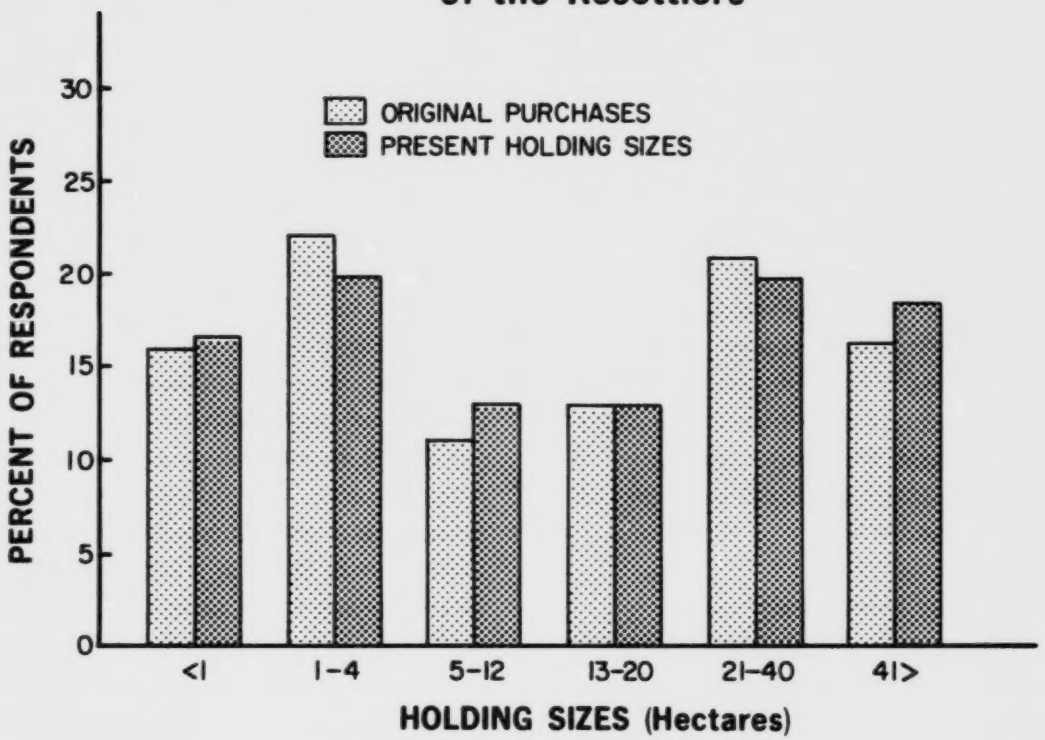
Survey respondents purchased properties ranging in size from less than one hectare to 81 hectares, with an average of 20 hectares. Since the original purchase, a small number of the respondents have made additional purchases (11) and sales (12) of land. The average size of the present holdings of respondents of 21 hectares is slightly greater than the previous figure, but much smaller than the average farm size in the study area (85 hectares). The distribution of original and present holding sizes are similar and are indicated in Figure 3.1 and in Table 3.1 (Appendix III).

The total area of land now held by the respondents is 2,637 hectares. By extrapolation, the total population of potential respondents own a total of five times that amount, or about 13,149 hectares, about 4% of the total study area; this represents an average annual resettlement of 1,861 hectares. Should this continue, for example, with the settlement of urban non-residents who have purchased land (the open circles or dots on Map 1), resettlement would soon become a dominant feature of the landscape. Research in southern Ontario has indicated a pervasive resettlement of wide areas in the urban shadow (Gray, et al., 1972; Rodd, 1976b).

3.1 Characteristics of the Resettlers

The socio-economic characteristics of exurbanites in this study generally correspond to those observed in other research in southern Ontario (Walker, 1977, 1979; Troughton, 1976) and in Quebec (Brunet, 1980). The survey respondents, both rural residents and hobby farmers, were predominantly married couples (119 of 126, or 95%), with average

Figure 3-1 Original and Present Holding Sizes of the Resettlers



Source: Questionnaire.

family sizes of about 3.5 people. This is the same as the average for Canadian urban families in 1976 (3.5), but smaller than the averages for rural farm (4.1) and non-farm (3.6) families. Extrapolation of these results indicates that over 2000 exurbanites have settled in the area between 1972 and 1979. Questioning of these new landowners indicated that almost 60% of the previous owners remain resident in the area as well. The study area has thus received a net increase in population through the resettlement process.

Information regarding the age, education, income, and occupation of the respondents is shown in Figures 3.2 to 3.5 and Tables 3.2 and 3.3. The men had an average age of 44 and ranged from 23 to 69, while the women averaged 41 years with minimum and maximum ages of 21 and 66. In both cases, the distribution of ages is weighted slightly towards the younger end of the scale. The hobby farmers are only slightly older than the rural residents; the average ages of the women were 41 and 39 and the men 44 and 43 respectively.

While the entire group of respondents had an average of 12 years of formal education, most completed their educations and entered the work force long ago. Their final education levels nevertheless compare favourably with those achieved by Canadians who finished their education in 1976. About 42% of the men and 35% of the women in this study had some post-secondary education, while 36% of Canadians leaving full-time studies in 1976 had some post-secondary education. The same figures for Canada in 1971 and 1966 were 29% and 18.6% respectively. Thus, the resettlers in this study represent a well-educated portion of their generation.

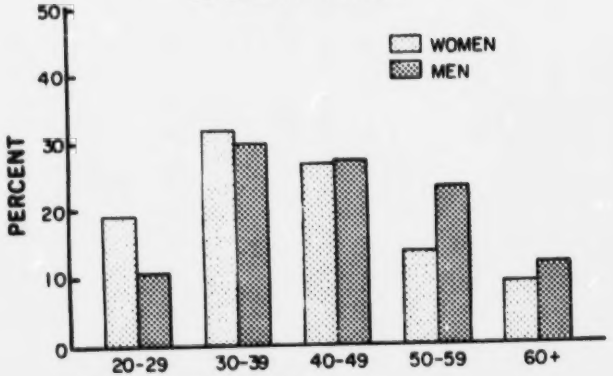
The 1978 family incomes of the respondents were much higher than Canadian family incomes for non-metropolitan areas. Figure 3.4 and Table 3.3 demonstrate that over half of the resettlers earned more than $20,000, and almost one-third had a family income over $30,000. Their median income falls in the $20-25,000 range. In comparison, the 1978 median income for Canadian families in non-metropolitan areas was about $17,800, and less than 16% of these families earned $30,000 or more in 1978.

There are some noticeable differences between the incomes of hobby farmers and those of rural residents; their median incomes fall in the $20-25,000 range and in the $15-20,000 range respectively. As well, 70% of the hobby farmers and only 46% of the rural residents earned more than $20,000 in 1978.

The relatively high education and income levels of the resettlers are reflected in their occupations. The occupations of the chief wage earners prior to their purchase of land are illustrated in Figure 3.5 and Table 3.3 (based on the 1971 Census classification). Here we are dealing with their occupations before purchasing land in the study area; later, in Chapter 5, we will analyse changes in occupation since the respondents' migration to the study area.

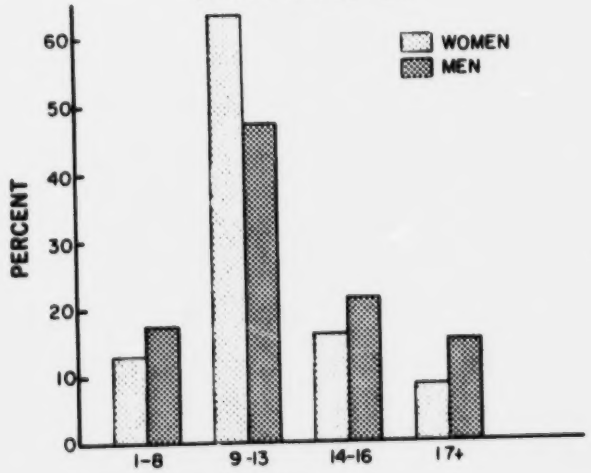
Before their purchase of land in the study area, almost one-third of the resettlers worked as professionals. The professional and managerial/official categories together accounted for almost one-half of the total survey respondents. Interestingly, the number of professionals who have resettled in

Figure 3-2 Age Distribution of the Resettlers



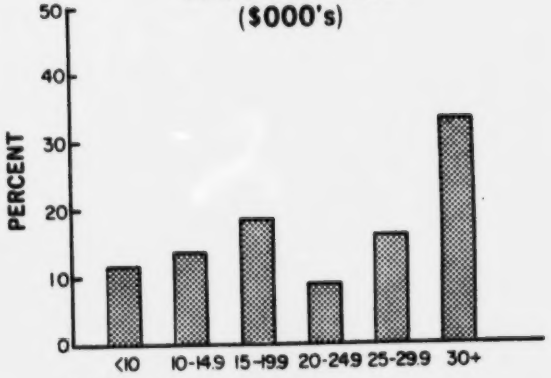
Source: Questionnaire.

Figure 3-3 Years of Education of the Resettlers



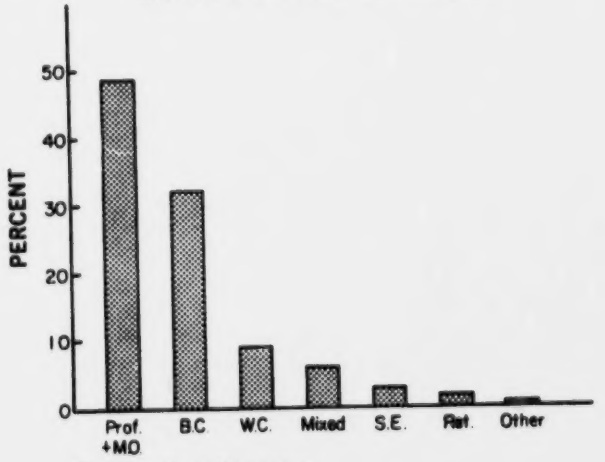
Source: Questionnaire.

Figure 3-4 1978 Family Income of the Resettlers ($000's)



Source: Questionnaire.

Figure 3-5 Occupations of Chief Wage-Earners at Date of Purchase



Source: Questionnaire.

the area was matched by an equal number in blue-collar occupations. These findings are consistent with findings in one part of the study area (McRae, 1977) and in other studies of resettlement (e.g., Troughton, 1976).

There seem to be some differences in previous occupations between the hobby farmers and rural residents. Over 64% of the hobby-farming group were in professional and managerial/official occupations, while 27% were blue-collar workers. On the other hand, almost 63% of the rural residents were in blue-collar and white-collar occupations, while 35% were in professional and managerial/official occupations.

Briefly, the resettlers in this study are generally middle-aged with high educations and incomes relative to the Canadian population. With occupations primarily in the professional, managerial/administrative, and blue-collar fields, they are representative of resettlement populations in other parts of Canada. As such, the resettlers are a distinct group of urbanites with diverse intentions and motives for migrating to the study area.

3.2 Reasons for Migrating to the Countryside

The motives and intentions of the resettlers were elicited through two questions:

1) Why did you decide to buy land in a rural area?
2) Why did you decide to buy land in this particular location?

As would be expected, most of the respondents had more than one answer to each question. The responses to the first question are indicated in Table 3.4, and, to the second, in Table 3.5.

By far the most common reason for purchasing land in a rural area was the accompanying change of lifestyle--84% of the resettlers included this as one of their responses. Previous research has shown that resettlement often is a product of dissatisfaction with urban living and an attraction to rural living (Hodge, 1974; Brunet, 1980). More specifically, about 25% claimed some farming intention, 17% were returning to a rural area, and 7% of the respondents chose this rural area in particular. Smaller proportions of the resettlers felt that it would be cheaper to live in a rural area, wanted to become more active, or had family considerations in mind, and 6% wanted to retire. Surprisingly, a wish to invest is rather low on this list. The common notion of urbanites buying up farmland for speculative purposes is not supported here. Rather, the primary reasons for moving to a rural area are associated with general and/or specific changes in lifestyle.

The second question brought out a wider range of responses (shown in Table 3.5). Access to urban areas and the attractive influence of friends, relatives, and the rural community were each mentioned by almost 36% of the respondents. About 19% listed the availability and price of land as important factors in their decision. A large proportion of the resettlers (about 18%) indicated that they wanted to relocate to Ontario from Quebec. The proportion of those who actually did make this relocation (77 respondents) raises this figure to 30%. (The socio-political situation in Quebec has apparently created some incentive to leave

that province.) In addition, the physical location and characteristics of the particular property were each mentioned by over one-tenth of the respondents.

Not surprisingly, most of the resettlers felt that the physical characteristics of their properties were important (see Table 3.6). Over one-third of the resettlers cited the existing house and buildings and the presence of woodland or trees as important attributes to their property. About one-quarter also mentioned the importance of the property's farming potential; this is consistent with the earlier finding that 25% of the respondents planned some farming. In fact, 20 of 126 respondents (16%) said both that their properties' farming potential was important and that they intended to farm.

Most of those who intended to farm (28 of 32) were in the hobby-farming group. The farming potential of their properties (e.g., fertility) was also most important to the hobby farmers, followed by the existing house and woodland or trees. In contrast, the properties' farming potential was least important to the rural residents; we shall see later that the smaller properties of the rural residents had few farming characteristics.

While some writers are skeptical of the importance of farming to resettlers (e.g., Troughton, 1976), others feel that some resettlers firmly intend to farm (e.g., Walker, 1979). The latter view is generally supported in this chapter, even though the majority of respondents were primarily interested in the general change of lifestyle offered by the rural area. It remains to be seen whether those who intended to farm actually made progress in that direction. In Chapters 4 and 5 we will attempt to examine the extent to which the resettlers were able to carry out their intentions and what impact they have had in the study area.

CHAPTER 4 THE IMPACT OF RESETTLEMENT ON THE FARMLAND RESOURCE

This chapter focuses on the impact of resettlement on the farmland resource. After land subdivision and the occupation of high quality agricultural land are examined, the resettlers' influence on land use, land values, and the rental of land, as well as their involvement in farming will be assessed. Variations in the impact of rural residents and hobby farmers and the effects of resettlement on each side of the provincial border will also be compared.

The spatial extent of resettlement in the study area is demonstrated on Map 1. The two larger symbols, representing 1-20 hectares and 20 hectares or greater, are drawn approximately to scale; the cartographic representation is therefore a good indication of the actual area of land occupied by resettlement. While almost every township is affected, the density of resettlement falls off in some townships in Prescott county and in other parts of the study area.

Much of the overall pattern of resettlement can be attributed to the physiography of the region and to the availability of land for sale. For example, referring again to Map 1, a linear resettlement pattern is visible along Ridge Road beginning at the western end of Prescott County, skirting south of the Alfred Bog and into the township of West Hawkesbury. The generally flat and wetter landscapes to the north and south of this line are not as attractive to resettlers; parts of these areas are also held in commercial agriculture and are therefore less frequently available for sale.

In the Quebec portion of the study area, much of the best farmland is in intensive agricultural use and is less available for sale to exurbanites. For example, in the eastern part of the parish of Ste. Marthe, resettlers have purchased properties of 2 hectares or less which were available for sale after their subdivision from small farms (which in turn were consolidated into larger, more viable farm units).

A different type of situation occurs in Glengarry County. The flat land of the southern part of Lancaster and Charlottenburgh townships is firmly established in commercial agricultural use; sales of land here are most often entire farms, and the majority of resettlers in this area are involved in agriculture. The northern part of Lochiel Township has been held in agriculture by a long-standing community of Scottish-Canadians. It is interesting to note, in Cartwright's study (1977), that northern Lochiel Township was thereby excluded from a 19th-century resettlement of much of the study area by French Canadian farmers from crowded parishes in Quebec. Cartwright observed that this former resettlement occurred in areas of poorer land in southern Lochiel and northern Lancaster townships that were vacated by westward-bound English Canadian farmers. Map 1 indicates that the present resettlement has occurred over a century later in an almost identical pattern.

The pattern of resettlement through the entire study area closely follows that of the original survey of lots and concessions. On the Quebec side, the radial pattern of roads

from Montreal is reflected in the pattern of resettlement. In Ontario, concessions run roughly parallel to the St. Lawrence River in Glengarry and Stormont counties and to the Ottawa River in Prescott County.

4.1 Subdivision and Agricultural Quality of the Land

Few of the properties purchased by the resettlers correspond to the original survey of land. Subdivision control is a relatively recent phenomenon, and the fragmentation of farm properties over many years has left a large number of small properties scattered throughout the countryside. As indicated at the beginning of Chapter 3, many of these properties have suited the requirements of the resettlers.

However, further subdivisions were involved in 44 of 126, or 35%, of all the original purchases by the respondents. Of this total, 22 subdivisions occurred when the property was greater than 12 hectares in size. Ten of these were natural subdivisions in Ontario, which may be consented to by local subdivision committees when the property is dissected by a natural watercourse, or road, or railway allowance. Consents for the remainder of the subdivisions (25% of all the original purchases) were supposedly based on planning guidelines and criteria set out by the provincial government.

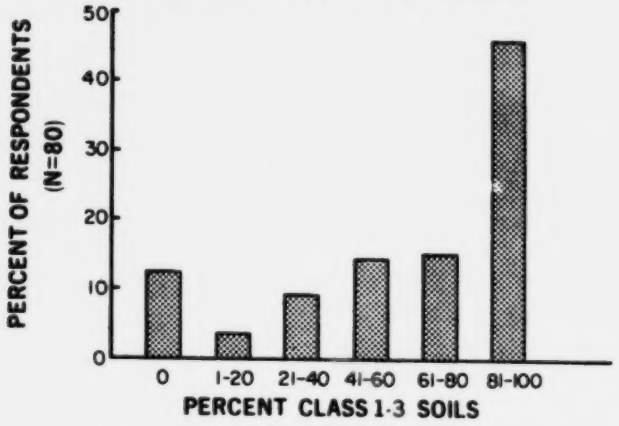
In Quebec, Brunet (1980) has related the subdivision of land in the eastern part of Montreal's urban shadow to resettlement in the 1970's. This study notes that a total of 4 subdivisions on the Quebec side took place prior to the Agricultural Lands Protection Act (1978). The Act now effectively prevents the subdivision of farmland in the province of Quebec.

The 40 subdivisions occurring in Ontario also occurred prior to 1979. However, since consent for subdivisions in Ontario is still based on planning guidelines, it seems likely that the subdivision of farmland, observed by Gray, et al. (1972), and Rodd (1976a, b), among others, will continue in Ontario. This concern was expressed in a recent report of the Intergovernmental Committee on Urban and Regional Research (1979).

The Canada Land Inventory rates 63% of the soils in the study area as class 1 to 3 for agricultural production (see Chapter 2). By plotting those respondents' properties of 4 hectares or more on 1:50,000 soil-capability maps, we obtained the proportion of class 1-3 land owned by 80 of the 126 respondents.* The distribution of these properties according to proportion of class 1-3 land is shown in Figure 4.1 and in Table 4.1 (Appendix III). While about 12% of the respondents have properties with no class 1 to 3 soils, close to 50% of the properties have 80-100% of these soils. The average for these properties is about 67% class 1 to 3 soils, only slightly higher than the general rating for soils in the study area (63%). However, those who said they intend to farm when moving to the area had landholdings with about 71% class 1 to 3 soils for agriculture. Resettlers wanting to farm seem to have consciously chosen better quality agricultural land; this choice was confirmed through actual responses in some interviews.

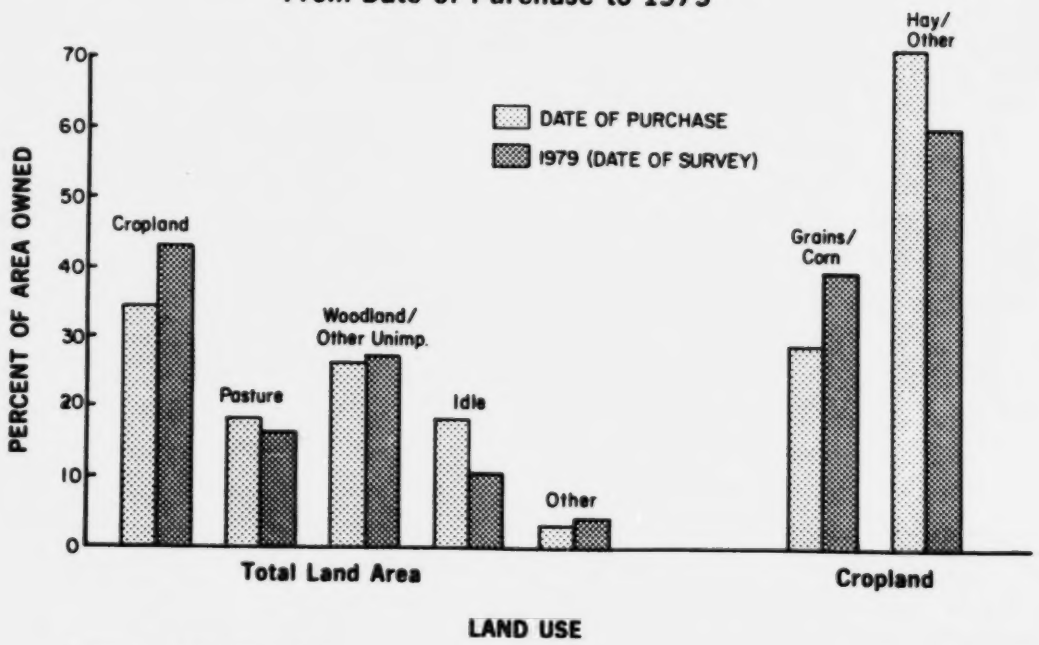
* Since the CLI maps are based on a reconnaissance-level soil survey, it is not possible to obtain reliable figures for properties of less than 4 hectares in size.

Figure 4-1 Percent of Resettlers' Properties on Class 1-3 Agricultural Land



Source: Questionnaire.

Figure 4-2 Percent of Land Use Change From Date of Purchase to 1979



Source: Questionnaire.

The majority of the resettlers, even those with less than 4 hectares, are located in areas with high proportions of good quality agricultural land; this is consistent with findings in other urban-based regions (Found and Morley, 1972; Wiltshire, 1973; Troughton, 1976). Of course, rural areas susceptible to resettlement in Canada (i.e., within commuting distance of large urban centres) generally have high proportions of class 1-3 land for agriculture (Manning and McCuaig, 1977; Neimanis, 1979).

4.2 Changes in the Use of the Resettlers' Land

The effects of resettlement on the use of farmland have been variously described as beneficial and detrimental to agriculture (see Chapter 1). The direct effects of the resettlers on the use of their own land are summarized in Figure 4.2 and in Table 4.2. A brief comparison with the census figures in Table 2.2 reveals some interesting results.

Those properties used as farmland on the date of purchase (57) had a much lower proportion of cropland than did farmland in the study area as a whole: 34.6% as opposed to 49.2% for the study area in 1971. This confirms that much of the land purchased by the exurbanites was not in commercial agricultural use or, in fact, was not in agricultural production at all.

From the date of purchase to the present, the resettlers have effected several changes in the use of their properties. The total number of properties in agricultural use has increased from 57 to 63. The amount of land in crops has increased from about 35% to 43% through the utilization of idle land. The proportion of cropland in small grains and corn has also increased, while the amount in pasture has declined. There has also been a slight increase in woodland as resettlers have begun to reforest some parts of their properties.

By our definition, the hobby-farming group have larger landholdings than do the rural residents. Hobby farmers control about 90% of the 2,637 hectares owned by the entire sample and have an average holding size of 37 hectares in contrast to 4 hectares for rural residents. Understandably, the hobby farmers' impact on the use of farmland in the study area is much greater than that of the rural residents.

From the date of purchase to the present, the hobby farmers have generally increased the agricultural use of their properties. The number of properties with cropland increased from 44 to 62, total cropland has increased by about 10%, and the area of land in small grains/corn has doubled. The proportion of land in hay, pasture, and unused land has simultaneously decreased. The rural residents, on the other hand, have generally made less agricultural use of their properties than did the previous owners. At present, fewer of their properties are in cropland and a smaller area is now in cropland, small grains/corn, and hay than on the date of purchase. Instead, the rural residents have increased the amount of land in woodland and other non-agricultural (e.g., recreational) uses. The amount of idle land has also remained about the same.

The two different approaches to the use of land correspond to the interest or lack of interest in farming. Of the 32 respondents who said they intended to farm, 28 were

farmers. Their intensification of farmland use is consistent with their stated objective. The creation of smaller properties through subdivision, however, tends to diminish the agricultural potential of those holdings. Not only is it difficult to realize a farming income, but it is difficult to use machinery and to interest farmers in renting small properties held by rural residents. In this context, the agricultural potential of hobby farmers' properties is much greater.

Resettlers on each side of the provincial border have contributed to the general intensification in farmland use indicated in the census data for the study area from 1971 to 1976. While there are exceptions to the rule, resettlers are owners of small properties; they control only a small land area and are primarily interested in the residential rather than agricultural aspects of rural living. While the farmland properties of the resettlers are not yet as intensively used as farmland in the entire area, an examination of land-use changes between the date of purchase and the present suggests that the hobby farmers in particular are making a significant effort in this direction. Other researchers have different conclusions regarding the impact of the resettlers. Such writers as Punter (1974), Walker (1979), and Brunet (1980) feel that hobby farmers generally contribute to the agricultural use of land, while others, notably Troughton (1976), are skeptical of hobby farmers' efforts.

4.3 The Resettlers' Farming Activity

While part of the effort in land-use intensification has been brought about by the rental of land to local farmers, the resettlers' own farming activity has also contributed to this intensification. As observed earlier, about one-quarter of the respondents specifically said that they had intended to farm.

At present, however, only 5% have actually become full-time farmers and 3% became part-time farmers. When asked specifically about their farming involvement, however, 27 said they had sold some farm products in 1979 and a further 31 said they were involved in non-commercial agriculture (i.e., self-sufficiency in meat, poultry, animal feeds, etc.). A total of 58 of 126 or 46% of the respondents had at least a limited involvement in agriculture at the time of the survey.

In 1978, there were 49 separate sales of farm products, the most common of which were cash crops (16 sales), hogs (10), and beef (9). In spite of the predominance of dairy farming in the study area, milk sales accounted for only 3 of the total number of sales by the respondents. The remaining sales were of poultry, honey, wood, and other products. The concentration on less labour-intensive agriculture is primarily due to off-farm employment commitments and lends some support to criticism directed at the agriculture practised by many resettlers (e.g., Brown, 1977). The availability and the cost of milk quotas, however, form a prohibitive barrier to milk production.

Present farming involvement provides a basis for separating the respondents into rural residents and hobby farmers. Eight of the 9 respondents who now classify themselves as farmers own more than 12 hectares, and of the

27 respondents who are presently selling farm products, 26 own more than 12 hectares of land. In addition, 23 of the 31 non-commercial farmers own more than 12 hectares. Consistent with their stated intentions, the rural residents have little farming involvement at present; they also emphatically denied any future intention of farming. Of the 40 respondents who are not farming now and who said they had no intention of doing so, 35 owned 12 hectares of land or less.

At this stage, few of the resettlers' farming efforts have been a commercial success; only 2 hobby farmers of 32 who sold farm products in 1978 had a net income from the sale of farm products. This is due in some cases to initially heavy farm investments, but in others to inexperience and mismanagement. Nevertheless, a small number of the resettlers on each side of the provincial border seriously intend to make a success of farming. Five of the respondents who moved into farming occupations were, in fact, renting land in an effort to improve their farm operations. Members of this group are enthusiastic and innovative and are making a definite contribution to agriculture in the study area.

4.4 Land Values and Land Tenure

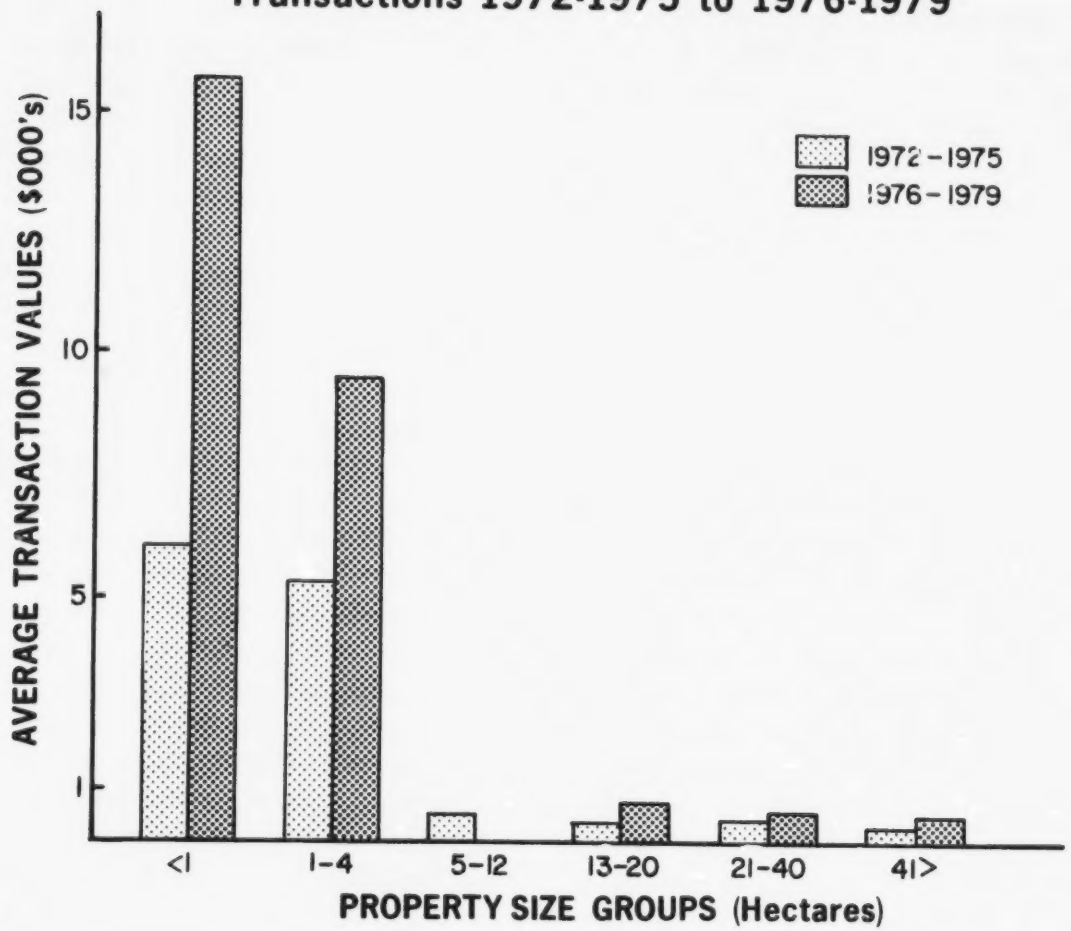
Possibly the least favourable aspect of resettlement is its effect on farmland values. Rodd (1976b) has observed that the demand for even small properties by resettlers increases the market value of farmland and so may affect the use of farmland over broad areas. Rapid escalation of farmland values could simply mean that farmers will not be able to compete for the use of farmland.

Figure 4.3 and Table 4.3 show sharp increases in the value of land and buildings for the resettlers' transactions in the period from 1972 to 1979.* As would be expected, the average value per unit area of land and buildings decreases with the increasing size of property purchased. More importantly, from 1972 to 1979 there has been an approximate doubling in the value of transactions in every property-size group for both the hobby farmers and the rural residents. It was observed earlier, using the census data, that the value of farmland and buildings in the study area had increased by 162%, from $61 per hectare in 1971 to about $160 per hectare in 1976 (see Figures 2.7, 2.8 and Table 2.5). However, the average transaction value of land and buildings for properties over 20 hectares between 1976 and 1979, was approaching $243 per hectare. With properties being sold to exurbanites for more than the actual value of farmland, their demand for land is probably generating increases in the value of farmland in the study area.

Although the value of farmland in this area is not as high as in other areas (e.g., southern Ontario), the sudden increase in land values could make it difficult if not impossible, for farmers to adapt. Consequently, the increasing value of farmland as a result of resettlement may have serious effects on agriculture in the study area. This has recently been described as a nation-wide phenomenon in which increases in farmland values are related, at least in

* About 30% of the transactions involved no buildings.

Figure 4-3 Change in Average Value of Transactions 1972-1975 to 1976-1979



Source: Questionnaire

part, to urban-oriented (e.g., exurbanite) demands for land (Manning and McCuaig, 1979).

Often the only alternative for farmers, with limited access to capital and who want to expand their operations or enter agriculture, is to rent land from other farmers or from resettlers who are preoccupied with off-farm work. Consistent with the findings of other studies (Russwurm, 1970; Punter, 1974; Brunet, 1980), farmers on each side of the border in the study area are renting land from exurbanites. This is an indication of the trend towards part-owner/part-tenant operations noted in the previous chapter.

There were 22 separate land rentals made from resettlers by local farmers in 1979, involving about 263 hectares. This area, 335 hectares in Ontario and 28 hectares in Quebec, is about 24% of the total area of the resettlers' land in cropland and pasture in 1979 (1,497 hectares). Farmers can therefore be considered to supplying about one-quarter of the effort to change the use of the resettlers' farm properties. Of the total 363 hectares, 333 hectares were rented from the hobby farmers, while the remaining 30 hectares were rented from rural residents.

It appears that land rental benefits both the resettlers and farmers. The exurbanites generally offer low-cost rental to farmers in return for the cultivation of their land. Twenty-eight of 126, or 22%, of the respondents also employ local farmers to do some custom work. Layton (1976) notes that, along with custom work, land rental may be part of a symbiotic relationship between resettlers and farmers.

Only 2 of 22 land rentals in 1979, however, involved a legal agreement. Most rentals are only year-to-year informal arrangements which, as noted in Chapter 1, may contribute to exploitation of the soil resource, since farmers are unable to make long-range plans and are unwilling to make significant improvements (e.g., tile drainage). Soil depletion could of course be alleviated through the use of medium to long-term, formal rental agreements between resettlers and farmers.

Considering that the study period covers only 7 years (mid-1972 to mid-1979), the resettlement of exurbanites in the study area appears to be having a significant effect on the farmland resource. These findings are consistent with those of other studies in Canada which have found that resettlement has a wide range of effects in rural areas. Before drawing any conclusions, we will assess the socio-economic impact of resettlement and the reactions of local farmers in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

CHAPTER 5 THE IMPACT OF RESETTLEMENT ON THE RURAL ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY

The effects of resettlement on the rural economy and community are as important as the effects on the farmland resource. Farmland is the physical resource in a rural/agricultural system supported by economic and social infrastructures. Chapter 2 documented that the number of farms and the area of land in farms in the study area decreased significantly from 1961 to 1976; this was accompanied by reductions in the supporting farm population and a consequent weakening of socio-economic infrastructures. In this chapter, we will examine the impact of resettlement on the local economy and community of the study area.

5.1 The Previous Landowners

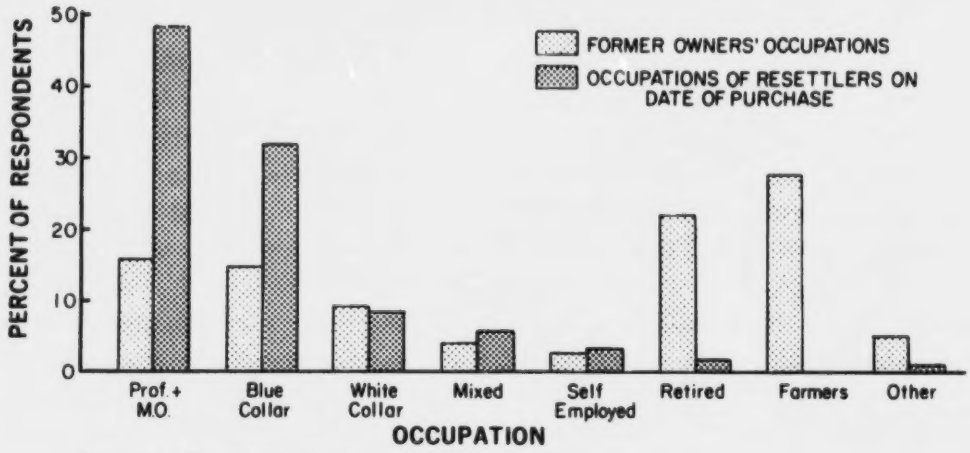
The most direct socio-economic effects are felt by the previous owners of the properties purchased by the newcomers. Very little or no work has been done on this important aspect of resettlement. Originally, some direct contact with the previous owners was proposed, but questioning of the new owners indicated that over 40% of the former residents were no longer in the area. Preliminary research indicated it would be too difficult and time-consuming to contact all the previous owners directly. It was felt though that questioning the new landowners would yield some important information about the former owners.

The resettlers were able to identify, in most cases, the occupations of the former owners and the probable reasons for selling their land. That the previous residents' occupations were different from those of the resettlers is apparent in Figure 5.1 and in a comparison of Table 5.1 and Table 3.5 (Appendix III). The largest group of previous owners were farmers, at 27% of all those identified; this includes 5 part-time farmers. They are closely followed by retired people (22.1%), including 18 retired farmers. However, significant proportions of the previous owners were classified in the professional, managerial/official group (15.6% of all those identified) and the blue-collar category (14.8%).

The resettlers were also able to identify most of the probable reasons for the sale of the property by the previous owners. These are outlined in Table 5.2. Over 30% of the reasons for sale were associated with people who had problems with age and health: the rural disadvantaged who, out of physical or financial necessity, decided to sell their properties. Through cross-tabulation, it was found that almost 90% of these people were in the retired and farming occupation groups. Some farmers had financial problems, but others also required a bigger and/or better farm property. Therefore, farmers who sold land to the resettlers were either getting out of farming or were attempting to improve their situation in farming.

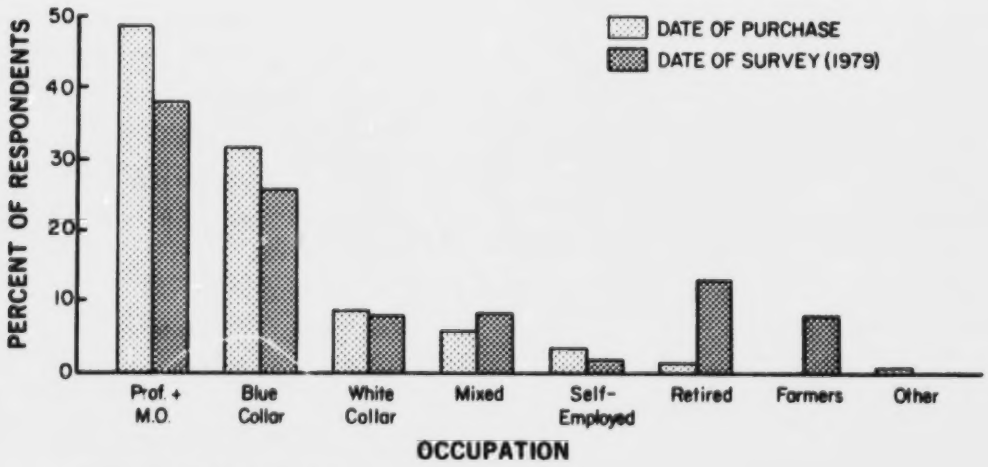
The second most common reason for the sale of land can be described as unsuitable lifestyle. This group (at 21%) was dominated by people in the blue-collar, professional, managerial, and self-employed groups. A disaffection with rural living clearly prompted many of the rural non-farmers to sell their properties. Many of these people also had financial problems and they were involved in more speculation than the farming

Figure 5-1 Former Owners' Occupations and Former Occupations of Resettlers (Chief Wage-Earners)



Source: Questionnaire

Figure 5-2 Former and Present Occupations of the Resettlers (Chief Wage-Earners)



Source: Questionnaire.

group. Not surprisingly, in the white-collar group, real estate agents were also involved in speculative activity.

The evidence outlined here might be used to support arguments in favour of or against resettlement. The resettlers are providing disadvantaged members of rural society (i.e., the old and infirm) with a means of bettering their lifestyles. On the other hand, many previous owners in professional, managerial, and blue-collar occupations have an easy way out of an unsuitable lifestyle and may seek a speculative profit as well. Because of the assistance given to the rural disadvantaged, the stronger argument seems to favour resettlement. The circumstances may differ in other areas, but similar investigations are lacking.

5.2 The Resettlers' Effects on the Rural Economy

In Chapter 3 it was noted that since most of the former owners remained resident in the area, the resettlement process has brought a net increase in the population of the study area. The transition from urban to rural living by the resettlers has also been accompanied by many adaptations in their occupations and locations of work. This aspect of resettlement has received little attention to date. Figure 5.2 and Table 5.3 present a comparison of the former and present occupations of the chief wage-earners among the resettlers.

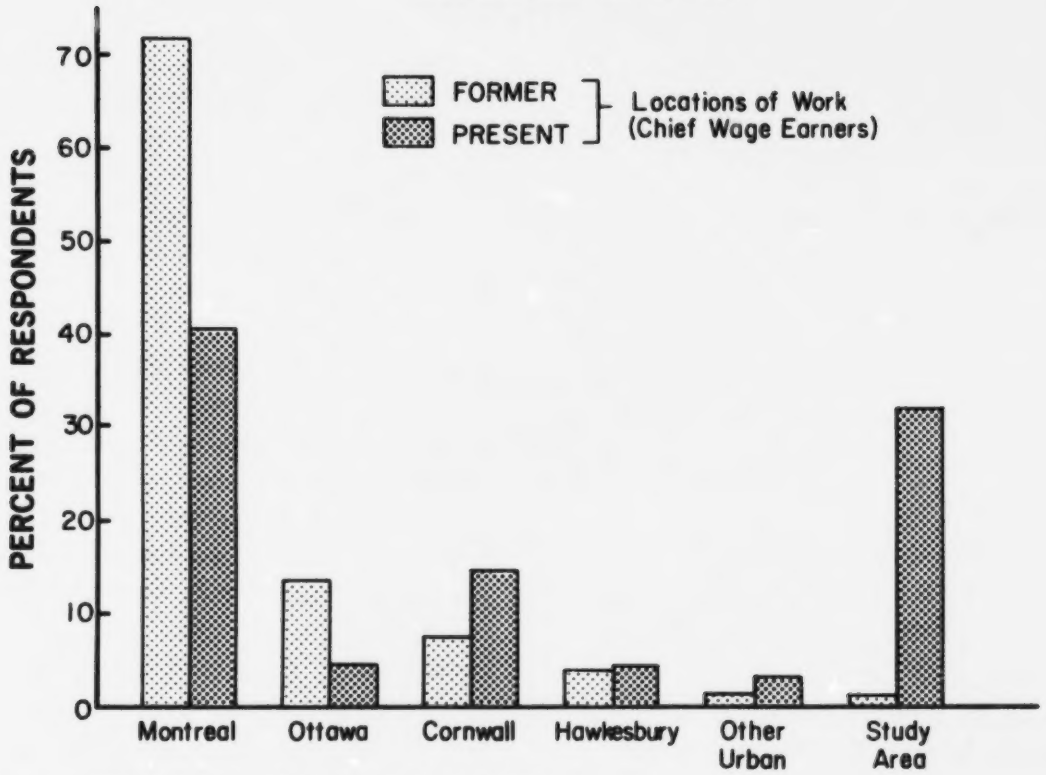
The proportion of the respondents in professional and managerial/official occupations has dropped from over 48% to just over 37%. At the same time, the proportion of those in blue-collar occupations decreased from about 32% to 25% of the total respondents. These people have, for the most part, moved into retirement or have become farmers (6) or part-time farmers (3) in the study area.

The resettlers' locations of work before the purchase of land and at present are illustrated in Figure 5.3 and in Table 5.4. As with the occupation structure, the locations of work have become more diversified. Before purchasing land in the study area, 98% of the resettlers worked outside the study area, 72% in Montreal alone. Since the date of purchase, Montreal and Ottawa lost one-half and over one-half of these workers respectively. The urban centre of Cornwall has meanwhile gained workers from Montreal and Ottawa.

The study area has gained most significantly--almost 32% of those who are still working are working in the study area. As well as taking up farming, many have added their expertise to the area in professional, managerial/official, and blue-collar jobs, supporting Kirschenbaum's (1971) contention that exurbanites' backgrounds enable them to compete successfully for jobs in rural areas. Many of these positions required people from outside the area and, in other cases, resettlers literally created work for themselves. A few of the resettlers, mostly in self-employed and mixed occupations, have started small businesses and are providing jobs and income for the area. The resettlers have become more diversified in their occupations and locations of work, filling niches in the economy of the study area.

Resettlement often has a considerable economic impact in urban-shadow areas. The most direct economic benefits were of course felt by the previous owners of the

Figure 5-3 Former and Present Locations of Work*



*Retired persons not included.

Source: Questionnaire.

resettlers' properties. An average of about $25,000 was received in the transactions and the majority (72 of 126) of former owners are still resident in the study area. Extrapolation of these results over the entire study area indicates that approximately $9 million in capital from the transactions alone was available for potential recirculation.

Since their purchase of land, the respondents have spent an average of over $30,000 on major expenditures in the study area. The types of expenditures and amounts spent to date are indicated in Figure 5.4 and in Table 5.5. By far the most popular type of expenditure has been housing renovation or the building of new houses--almost 90% of the respondents made expenditures here. Most of the existing houses, by the resettlers' urban standards, needed considerable renovation, and in 30% of the cases no buildings existed on the rural properties before the transaction.

The second most common type of reported expenditure was in machinery and equipment, with over 51% of the respondents reporting such expenditures. This is undoubtedly related to their stated intention of farming as well as to the general improvement of their properties. The large expenditures on farm buildings by over 37% of the respondents is a good indication of the resettlers' interest in farm and property improvement. Less money has been spent on the land, including fencing and drainage improvements.

Table 5.5 indicates the magnitude of capital expenditures by the resettlers--almost $4 million by the 126 respondents in the period from 1972 to 1979. Further questioning showed that 80% of these expenditures (over $3 million) were actually made in the rural area. A further 11% was spent in local urban centres such as Cornwall and Hawkesbury. Extrapolation of the results reveals that the amount spent by the total population of resettlers in the rural area is about five times that amount, over $15 million in a period of less than 8 years. In addition, more than 82% of the respondents intended to make further expenditures. The rural economy has no doubt benefited and will continue to profit from this influx of capital and the increased demand for goods and services.

There is some indication that resettlers on the Quebec side spend less money in the study area than do their Ontario counterparts. This is probably due in part to the proximity of Montreal to the Quebec resettlers.

Much of the work on the properties of the resettlers, both rural residents and hobby farmers, was accomplished through the aid of local contractors. Almost 83% of the resettlers hired an average of 4 local contractors for such jobs as surveying, electricity, plumbing, carpentry, fencing, bulldozing, and backhoe work. As noted above, over one-fifth of the respondents also hired local farmers to do custom farm work.

There are some notable differences in the economic impact of the rural residents and hobby farmers. Average expenditures to 1979 for the former group were about $15,000 less than those of the hobby farmers--$23,000 as opposed to $38,000. While housing expenditures were most common in both groups, farm-related expenditures were understandably much higher among the hobby farmers in both numbers reporting and amounts spent.

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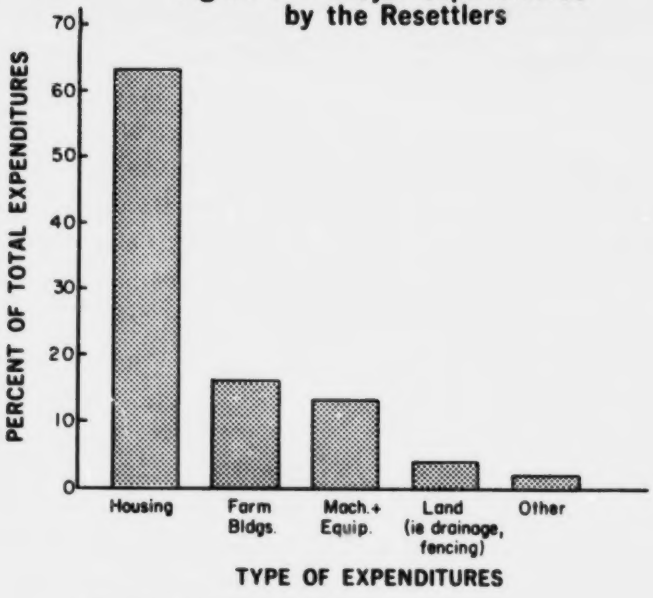
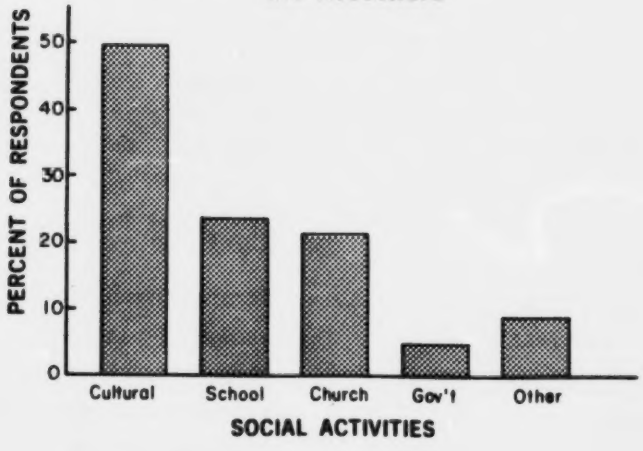
Figure 5-4 Major Expenditures by the Resettlers



Source: Questionnaire

Figure 5-5 Social Activity of the Resettlers



Source: Questionnaire

Furthermore, while about the same proportion of both groups (60%) intended to make further expenditures, 55% of this amount would be farm-related expenditure by the hobby farmers. The hobby-farming groups are therefore more supportive of the rural economy in general and of farm support services and agricultural infrastructure in particular.

It is possible that resettlement could further weaken the agricultural orientation of the rural economy, thereby creating problems for commercial farmers (see Berry, 1976; Rawson, 1976). With non-farm, urban-oriented backgrounds and the demand for blue-collar tradesmen, the influx of exurbanites lends increasing support to a different economy based on non-farm services and essentially non-commercial agriculture. In heavily resettled areas, farmers may find it difficult to obtain goods and services necessary for modern large-scale agriculture. Nevertheless, many of the resettlers in this area have given some support to farm supply and service outlets and, since building work is largely completed, most future intended expenditures were farm-related. Further resettlement, however, would ensure continuing demand for all goods and services.

5.3 Resettlers in the Rural Community

It has already been demonstrated that the newcomers have some effects on the rural community of the study area beyond the direct socio-economic impact on the previous owners. This subject has been directly addressed by a few researchers, particularly in southern Ontario (Troughton, 1976; Walker, 1976, 1977, 1979) and recently in Quebec (Brunet, 1980).

The reasons for moving to a rural area are often expressed as a desire to get away from it all. While this applied to many of the respondents, over 60% were involved in at least one local social activity such as church, school, cultural activities, or local government. The resettlers' social involvement is summarized in Figure 5.5 and in Table 5.6. Almost 50% of the respondents are taking part in such cultural activities as organization and/or participation in recreation, local interest groups (e.g., historical, alternate energy), and event organizations (e.g., agricultural fairs). Many of the resettlers are actively involved in school and church organizations--about 24% and 21% respectively. However, only a small proportion are now involved with local government. Possibly due again to the proximity of Montreal, the Quebec resettlers appear to have less local community involvement than those in Ontario.

There is some indication that the hobby farmers are more heavily involved in the local community than the rural residents. Almost 60% of the former group and only 39% of the latter participated in cultural activities of some kind. Larger proportions of the hobby farmers were also involved in church (27% vs. 16%), school (28% vs. 19%), and other local activities (14% vs. 3%); 71% of the hobby farmers and 50% of the rural residents participated in at least one social activity. Almost half of those in each group who are not yet involved said that they would be in future.

A large number of the respondents noted that there were two rural communities, the old and the new, and that they were more closely involved with other newcomers. For example, in one area, the respondents have formed a local womens' interest group designed primarily to acquaint themselves with their new lifestyles.

A significant number of resettlers (18%) said that they would not become involved in the local community at all due to a lack of time and/or inclination. Many reasoned that increased privacy was one of their objectives in moving to the area. Although detailed work in other parts of Canada is generally lacking, the results of this study partly support research in the Toronto area (Walker, 1977), which indicates that resettlers tend to maintain urban and other exurbanite contacts and integrate slowly into the rural community. The evidence here shows that resettlers became involved in many social activities in the study area after a relatively short period of time (less than 8 years). The resettlers' commitment to rural living has contributed to their impact on the local community as well as on the economy of the rural area.

Most of the resettlers were happy with their decision to move to this area; 37% said it was a good decision and a further 54% rated it an excellent decision. About 91% of the total respondents expressed considerable overall satisfaction with their move to the study area. Some of the resettlers, however, expressed disappointment in a number of important areas. Small proportions of the respondents noted that they felt a decrease rather than an increase in freedom and independence (8%), that they might have purchased a better property (10%), that their new experience has been too expensive (10%), or that their general plans have not been working out (10%). Consequently, there is some impetus for further change which may be borne out, for example, in further land-market activity. As observed earlier, the resettlers in this study displaced a previous group of dissatisfied landowners.

This dissatisfaction has already led to decisions by a small number of the respondents (4% of the total respondents) to sell their properties and move from this area. It could be that rural life is not fulfilling their expectations, or that the resettlers' expectations have exceeded their capabilities or the capabilities of the rural area or both. Should this dissatisfaction become more widespread, an erosion of the resettlers' commitment to the rural area might have further unforeseen consequences for the farmland resource as well as for the local economy and community.

CHAPTER 6 THE FARMING COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO RESETTLEMENT

The analysis of the impact of resettlement in the study area would be incomplete without looking at the attitudes and reactions of the longer-standing rural community. Little research has been done on this aspect of resettlement. During the course of the first survey, a second survey was taken of 93 farmers in the study area, 15 in the province of Quebec and 78 in Ontario. This was equivalent to about 8% of the total number of farmers registered in the area with the Ontario Federation of Agriculture and with the Quebec Ministry of Agriculture. In this chapter, we will analyse the results of the survey and make a limited comparison of the reactions of farmers on each side of the provincial border. The opinions of county agricultural representatives on the subject of resettlement are also briefly examined.

Eighty-four of the 93 respondents, or 90%, operated full-time farms. Generally, these were traditional family farms; 96% of the respondents were married and had families who contributed considerably in farm labour. The average length of farm ownership by the respondents was about 17 years, ranging from one to 45 years. In a large number of cases, however, family farms were handed down from generation to generation. While there was some variation from the norm in areas where resettlement is sparse, most of the respondents on each side of the border (94% of all respondents) had noticed the movement of exurbanites to the area. Furthermore, 82% of all the respondents had personal acquaintances among the exurbanites. There was thus a wide recognition of the recent phenomenon of resettlement.

6.1 Perceived Effects of Resettlement

When asked about their general feelings about the influx of exurbanites, the most common reaction related to the increasing value of land. Over 90% of the farmers felt that the value of land had increased greatly in the past 5 to 10 years, but only 40% said that this was at least partly due to resettlement. Many farmers did not realize that land-value increases might be related to resettlement. However, the latter figure was obtained simply from responses to questions regarding the farmers' general feelings towards resettlement.

The effects of increasing land values on the farm operations of the respondents are indicated in Table 6.1 (Appendix III). Almost 56% of those interviewed said that present prices made it difficult if not impossible to purchase land for farming purposes. Economic returns from agriculture were considered insufficient to justify investment in purchasing land. In several cases, farmers had not been able to match prices paid by exurbanites for farmland. Many respondents felt that young farmers would find it difficult to enter agriculture because of the higher values of land. A few farmers noted that such costs as taxes and land rental had also increased.

There is some evidence that farmers regard increasing land values as beneficial. About 23% observed that the value of their farm had increased; thus, they reasoned, it had become easier to borrow money for farm re-investment or, alternatively, they might receive more

for their farms should they decide to sell. As noted earlier, many of the previous owners of the resettlers' land were farmers or retired farmers. An additional small number of farmers thought there were other benefits from the increase in land values. The danger here, of course, is that the anticipation of higher land values could create uncertainty among farmers as to the future in farming. High interest rates, for example, could produce a higher rate of return on investment by selling farms or farmland and simply banking the money rather than continuing to farm. This, in turn, may eventually affect the overall productivity of agriculture in the study area. At the time of the survey, however, declining productivity did not seem to be an imminent probability. Moreover, in keeping with farmers' traditional independence, almost 40% of the respondents did not feel that recent land-value increases had had any effect on them whatsoever.

In addition to their reactions towards the increased value of land, the respondents had other specific feelings, both positive and negative, about resettlement. These reactions are identified in Table 6.2.

The farmers had generally positive reactions towards the economic benefits of resettlement. Although the majority of the respondents did not perceive a great effect on the local economy, it was recognized (seemingly less so in Quebec than Ontario) that resettlers are providing business and revenue for the rural area. On the other hand, many farmers had ambivalent reactions to resettlement and others felt that resettlement had a negative economic influence, for example, in increasing property-tax rates.

There were generally positive reactions to the subject of land rentals. Fifty-seven of the 93 farmers interviewed (61%) were renting land and 4 out of 5 of these rentals were from non-farmers, many of whom were exurbanites. As would be expected, most of the farmers who rent land (69%) said that they did so primarily because it was cheaper than purchasing more land. A smaller proportion (22%) said that they rented land because it was not available for purchase, and a further 22% said that they rented land since it offered them an extra source of income. Over 75% of these rentals (43 of 57) were for only one year at a time.

Land rentals are essentially verbal agreements (especially the one-year arrangements), providing resettlers with flexibility; however, farmers who are faced with an uncertain future and who cannot make long-range plans for rented land may develop an exploitive attitude towards that land. Almost 40% of the farmers (22 of 57) have made no improvements whatsoever to the rented land. The improvements made by the remaining farmers consisted mainly of clearing brush or picking stones. While preliminary work on much of the land owned by resettlers must necessarily include these improvements, the primary limitation to agriculture in most of the area is a lack of natural drainage. Only one farmer was able to install costly tile drainage on the rented land.

Table 6.2 indicates that the negative aspects of farmland rental from exurbanites were recognized by a relatively small number of farmers. The farmers' perception of current land rentals as beneficial is in fact a short-term view and so is inconsistent with long-term benefits for agricultural

production in the area.

Farmers on both sides of the border had generally negative reactions towards the resettlers' use of land and to their farming efforts (see Table 6.2). As the evidence in Chapter 4 indicated, skepticism about the resettlers' present farming efforts seems partly justified. Very few of the resettlers had commercially successful farm operations, and a number of farmers mentioned that resettlers were providing entertainment in this regard. However, the resettlers' use of land, albeit partly through rental to local farmers, was contributing to the general intensification in farmland use indicated in the census data for the study area from 1971 to 1976; this was recognized by a relatively small number of farmers (see Table 6.2). The farmers' doubts regarding land use by the resettlers are to some extent unjustified and may be based on the use of the smaller, primarily non-farm residences rather than on the change in the use of the land held by most of the hobby farmers.

Although most of the farmers (56%) felt that resettlement had little or no actual effect on farming in the area, their overall perception was mostly negative. It was noted earlier that the respondents saw a primarily negative effect in the increase of land values. Some farmers felt that resettlers were slow in accepting their responsibilities for fences and weed control, but quick to complain about farm odours and tax increases due to municipal drainage improvements. Positive reactions were generally limited to the area of land rentals.

An even larger majority of farmers (80%) said that resettlement had had little or no effect on their own farm operations. This tendency to emphasize wider effects on farming in the area rather than their own operations again may be more an indication of farmers' supposed independence than a measure of the actual situation.

6.1.1 Ambivalence of the Farming Community

The majority of farmers (60%) felt that resettlement was having little or no effect on the local community, while the remainder thought that the effects were moderate to great. Unlike responses to other questions, the farmers' reactions here, as shown in Table 6.2, were ambivalent. While almost equal numbers had positive (20) or negative (21) feelings, a larger number of farmers (27) had both positive and negative reactions to the social effects of resettlement. Positive change was generally seen in the increased support for schools, churches, and other cultural organizations. Negative reactions were due largely to the transfer of urban lifestyles to the rural area and the perceived disruption of the traditional community based on the family, informal cooperation, and general neighbourliness.

The most striking feature shown in Table 6.2 is the ambivalence of the farming community towards resettlement. For example, while 15 farmers (11.4%) felt that the movement of exurbanites to the countryside should be limited or controlled, 16 farmers (12.8%) felt that there was nothing wrong with it. This ambivalence is evident even in their perception of the quality of farmland purchased by exurbanites. The categories with generally positive (e.g., economics) or

negative (e.g., land use) reactions also have an element of dissenting opinion, and some farmers in every category but one had both positive and negative feelings about the resettlement of the area. Finally, although Table 6.2 does not contain responses to land-value increases, total negative reactions (132) to the resettlers only slightly outweigh the positive (125).

6.2 Agricultural Representatives' Attitudes Towards Resettlement

The county representatives were another source of valuable information regarding the impact of resettlement. Informal discussions with them revealed that they were well aware of the relatively recent influx of exurbanites to the study area. The Prescott County representative thought resettlement was a gradual trend that had grown in the last 10 years. He also noted that there were two separate groups of resettlers: those who were not prepared for rural/farming life and those who were more prepared and serious about farming. He felt the former group were not contributing to agriculture and generally neglected their land, while the latter group would eventually make a contribution to agriculture.

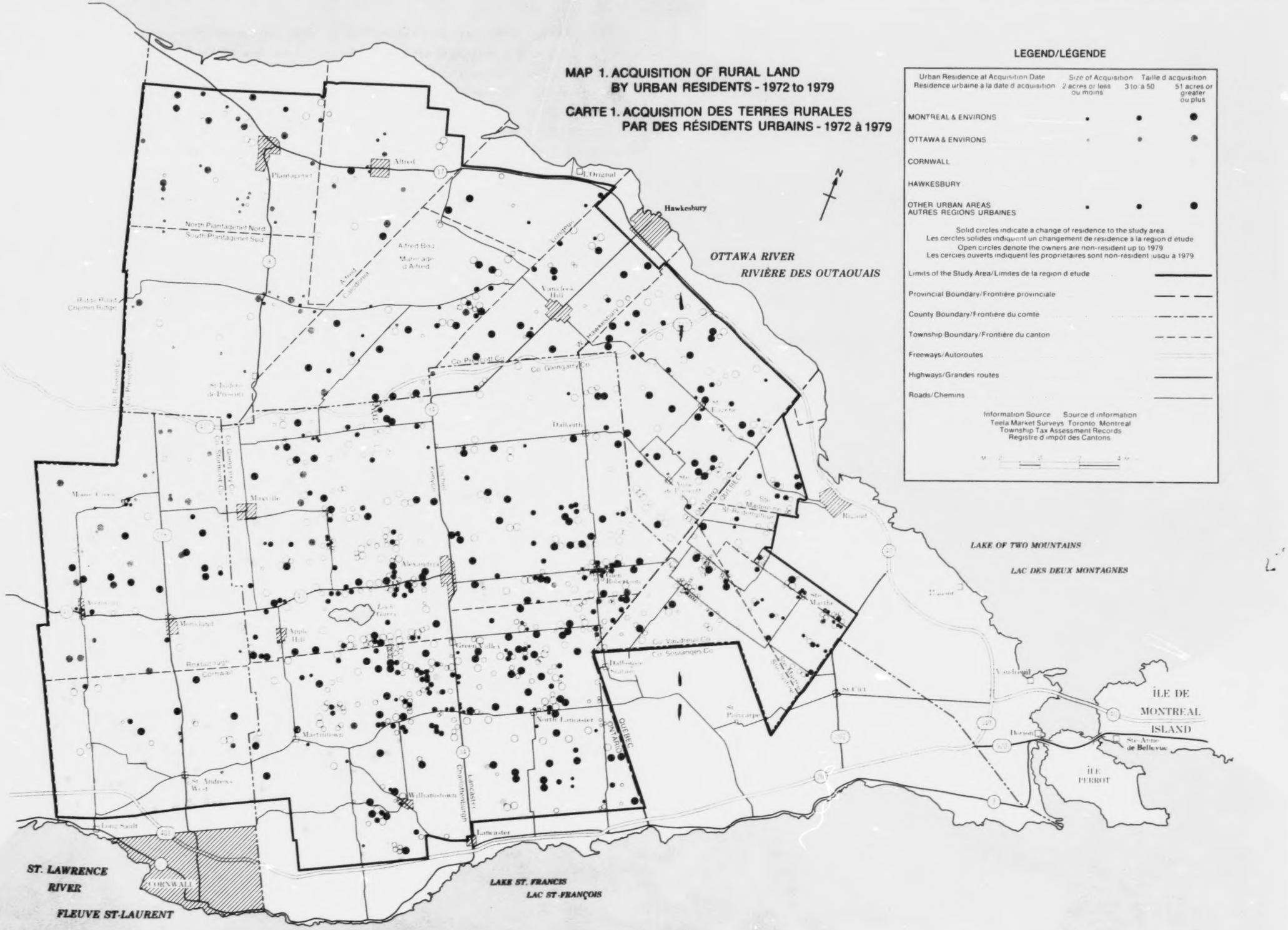
The representative from Glengarry County also said that the resettlers were divisible into two general groups: non-farming rural residents who bought poor land or agricultural land for non-agricultural (i.e., residential) purposes and hobby farmers who farmed part-time and were contributing to agriculture, at least in a limited way. While the resettlers were also competing with full-time local farmers for agricultural land and therefore increasing its price, their economic impact was generally favourable. Even here, however, he mentioned the lack of participation and responsibility in the rural area on the part of some resettlers.

The Stormont County representative felt that in general the resettlers were a benefit to the area under his jurisdiction. He had received many enquiries from exurbanites regarding the use of their land. They seemed to be instilling a new pride of ownership in the rural area, and a few were now successful farmers. Investors and speculators rather than resettlers, he felt, were responsible for neglected land in the area. He also mentioned that longer-standing farmers were often not receptive to the exurbanites who may not have been as well prepared as they might be for rural life.

Surprisingly, previous research has neglected to examine directly the attitudes and opinions of those directly affected by resettlement in rural/agricultural areas. Personal opinions, though, are a valuable part of an overall view of the phenomenon of resettlement. The attitudes and opinions of farmers and agricultural representatives indicate wide differences in the perception of the effects of resettlement in the study area; these opinions support the analysis of resettlement in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 7 will summarize and discuss the implications of resettlement.

MAP 1. ACQUISITION OF RURAL LAND BY URBAN RESIDENTS - 1972 to 1979

CARTE 1. ACQUISITION DES TERRES RURALES PAR DES RÉSIDENTS URBAINS - 1972 à 1979



LEGEND/LÉGENDE

Urban Residence at Acquisition Date / Residence urbaine à la date d'acquisition	Size of Acquisition / Taille d'acquisition: 2 acres or less / ou moins	3 to / à 50	51 acres or greater / ou plus
MONTREAL & ENVIRONS	•	•	●
OTTAWA & ENVIRONS	◦	◦	◉
CORNWALL			
HAWKESBURY			
OTHER URBAN AREAS / AUTRES REGIONS URBAINES	•	•	●

Solid circles indicate a change of residence to the study area
Les cercles solides indiquent un changement de résidence à la region d'étude
Open circles denote the owners are non-resident up to 1979
Les cercles ouverts indiquent les propriétaires sont non-resident jusqu'a 1979

- Limits of the Study Area/Limites de la region d'etude
- Provincial Boundary/Frontière provinciale
- County Boundary/Frontière du comte
- Township Boundary/Frontière du canton
- Freeways/Autoroutes
- Highways/Grandes routes
- Roads/Chemins

Information Source / Source d'information
Teela Market Surveys, Toronto, Montreal
Township Tax Assessment Records
Registre d'impôt des Cantons

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CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the southern part of Canada and especially in the highly-urbanized Windsor-Quebec axis, there has been extensive exurbanite settlement of rural/agricultural areas within commuting distance of urban centres. This case study has undertaken an examination of the overall impact of resettlement in a central part of this axis.

7.1 The Impact of Resettlement

In the study area of eastern Ontario and western Quebec, there has been a recent influx of exurbanites, primarily from Montreal but also from Ottawa and, to a lesser extent, from Cornwall and Hawkesbury. The resettlers, primarily middle to high-income families with good educations and jobs, were seeking a change of lifestyle in a rural area. Some of the exurbanites specifically intended to farm, either full or part-time, while others were looking for a cheaper lifestyle, for example, through self-sufficient agriculture. A large proportion of the resettlers, particularly those with smaller land holdings, were primarily interested in the residential/recreational aspects of rural living.

The resettlers were attracted to this particular area because of its access to urban centres, as well as to friends, relatives, and the rural community. Many had relocated here almost by chance after having looked in other areas. The relatively low price of land, and, for some former Montreal residents, a location in Ontario, were also important factors in their relocation to this area. The characteristics and motivations of the resettlers in this area are similar to those of resettlers in other studies in Ontario (Found and Morley, 1972; Wiltshire, 1973; Troughton, 1976), Quebec (Brunet, 1980), and Western Canada (Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs, 1977a).

The pattern of resettlement in Map 1 arises from the physiography of the region and the availability of land for sale, as well as the distance-decay from urban centres. Extrapolation of the survey results indicates that about 4% of the entire study area has been occupied by resettlers since 1972. Although the demand for larger land holdings seems to be declining (due to escalation in the price of land and a decrease in supply), this figure would at least double if urban-based, non-resident landowners decide to become resettlers themselves. Furthermore, the resettlers have generally purchased land with soils of medium to high capability for agriculture, largely because of their stated intention to farm and to purchase farmland and because of the widespread distribution of high quality agricultural land in the area.

As is often suspected in areas of exurbanite land-market activity, resettlement here is characterized by a significant amount of farmland subdivision, especially on the Ontario side. Subdivisions account for 35% of all transactions (half of which involve 12 hectares or more) and augment the large number of previously subdivided properties purchased by the exurbanites. The association of resettlement with farmland subdivision in this study corresponds to the results of many other studies in Canada (Alberta Land-Use Forum, 1974c; Carvalho, 1974; Rodd, 1976a, b; Brunet, 1980). The

subdivision of quality farmland is a definite threat to agriculture and is a strong argument against undirected resettlement in rural areas.

The evidence in this study indicates, however, that the resettlers are contributing to the intensification in the use of farmland in the area by renting land to local farmers or by their own farming efforts. Much of the farmland, particularly on the Ontario side of the study area, had been idle or semi-idle and resettlement seems to be bringing farmland properties back into production. There are of course exceptions to this rule and the resettlers' land is generally not yet as intensively used as is farmland in the area as a whole. The direction of change is nevertheless towards an intensification of farmland use. Similar results have recently been found by Walker (1979) in southern Ontario and by Brunet (1980) in Quebec. However, this intensification does not apply to small properties (e.g., less than 12 hectares), subdivided from farmland either before or in association with resettlement. The farming potential of smaller properties is limited by their size and often by their owners' lack of interest in agriculture.

While the majority of the resettlers, particularly those with small land holdings, will not make a significant contribution to commercial agriculture, a small proportion seem likely to do so. Although the size of most of the hobby farms is insufficient to maintain a full-time operation, part-time farming and/or the long-term rental of land to full-time farmers are good alternatives for at least maintaining these properties as farmland. These alternatives are suggested in other studies of part-time farming (Fuller and Mage, 1975; Walker, 1979).

On the other hand, what is undoubtedly the most adverse aspect of resettlement is the relatively sharp increase in the value of farmland due to the demand for and the sale of subdivided properties. While not representing a significant loss of farmland, as Rodd (1976b) points out, transactions involving small subdivisions of land play a disproportionately large role in increasing farmland values. This seems to be the case in the study area, and many farmers indicated that they consider the price of farmland too high for expanding their own operations or for young farmers entering agriculture.

It is generally thought that, with high farmland values, farmers can maintain agricultural production by renting land. This is reflected in the study area and throughout the Windsor-Quebec axis in the trend towards part-owner/part-tenant farm operations. Farmland rental from exurbanites has been examined in several other studies of resettlement (Russwurm, 1970; Troughton, 1976; Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs, 1977a; Brunet, 1980). However, the often low cost of land rental from exurbanites is offset by the short-term and/or unstable nature of rental agreements under which farmers are unable or unwilling to make necessary improvements (e.g., tile drainage). Short-term benefits to both farmers and exurbanites may be offset by widespread exploitation of the land resource and a consequent long-term decline in agricultural productivity.

In conjunction with its effects on the farmland resource, resettlement has had a

significant socio-economic impact in the study area. Resettlement by exurbanites has been part of a reversal of population trends in this and other rural areas of Canada. Since most of the previous owners of the resettlers' properties remained in the area, the process has resulted in a net increase in the rural population and therefore in increased support for the local community and economy.

The previous owners, many disadvantaged by age and health, were the most direct beneficiaries of resettlement. The relatively high incomes of most of the resettlers has enabled them not only to purchase property in the study area, but to build new or renovate old houses and farm buildings and make other farm-related expenditures. This has provided a significant economic stimulus to the study area, extrapolated in the order of $24 million in the period from mid-1972 to mid-1979. Similar observations have been made by Hodge (1974), among others, in southern Ontario. While the hobby farmers give some support to the farm economy, the non-farm aspirations of most of the resettlers and their demand for blue-collar tradesmen (e.g., surveying, bulldozing, electricity) has generally supported a different economy based on non-farm services and essentially non-commercial agriculture. In addition, further expenditures, while farm-related, were expected to be limited. The reorientation and weakening of farm economies in this manner has been noted by Rawson (1976) and Berry (1976). On the other hand, if resettlement slackens (e.g., due to higher gasoline prices and consequent commuting costs) the non-farm economy of the rural area could suffer. Of course, if resettlement continues (e.g., from presently urban-resident, rural landowners), there will be a continued demand for all goods and services.

Many of the exurbanites have, through the process of resettlement, have become integrated into the local society. Although most of the resettlers are still professional, managerial/official, and blue-collar workers who commute to urban centres for employment, a large number have retired to the area, while others have taken up full or part-time farming. As noted by Kirschenbaum (1971), the resettlers' backgrounds have enabled them to obtain jobs in the rural community. A few have also created work for themselves, for example, by starting small businesses that provide revenue and jobs for the rural area.

The resettlers' have, for the most part, tried to become part of social infrastructures in the rural community, especially in Ontario. Most are involved in cultural activities (e.g., recreation, alternate energy, or historical groups), and many also participate in church and school organizations. Only a few are involved with local government. The hobby farmers demonstrate not only a greater economic but more of a social commitment to the study area than the rural residents, perhaps because of their interest in farming; this attachment to the land means that hobby farmers may have more in common with the longer-standing community than rural residence alone. However, as pointed out by Walker (1976), some resettlers seem to be more closely involved with other newcomers and integrate slowly, if at all, into the local community. The majority of resettlers have decided to

become involved in some way with the rural life of the area.

At the time of the study, most of the resettlers said that they were satisfied with their move to the rural area; some dissatisfaction, however, had already prompted a few resettlers to leave. Of course, dissatisfaction with rural living and an attraction to the city contributed to the original depopulation of wide areas in Canada. As Cartwright notes (1977), this particular rural area had already undergone a previous large-scale process of settlement-depopulation-resettlement in the 19th-century. The early stage of resettlement covered in the present paper may in fact be dominated by the euphoria of adventure and new experience which could conceivably erode with time and exposure to the day-to-day realities of rural living.

7.1.1 The Reaction of the Farming Community

Unfortunately, there has been little research regarding farmers' reactions to resettlement. Most of the farmers interviewed in this study were well aware of the influx of exurbanites, but they had widely varying opinions about its effects. A large number of the farmers (40%) felt that resettlement was at least partly responsible for the recent substantial increases in land values, and over half thought it was now difficult if not impossible to purchase land for farming purposes. In several cases, exurbanites had paid prices beyond the level farmers felt they could afford. However, many farmers (almost one-quarter) also said that the increased value of their farms was beneficial because it allowed them to borrow money for farm re-investment or, alternatively, because the eventual sale of their land would be more profitable. Thus, the increase in land values seems to be creating some initial uncertainty among farmers, for example, as to whether to expand or intensify their operations or to sell land at higher land values. This in turn could affect future agricultural productivity in the area.

Farmers had mostly positive reactions to economic benefits and the rental of land. As we have seen, however, the short-term nature of rental agreements is inconsistent with long-term benefits for agriculture in the study area. On the basis of evidence in Chapter 4, skepticism among farmers about the resettlers' farming efforts are perhaps justified, though negative reactions towards the resettlers' use of farmland are somewhat unjustified. In general, farmers felt that resettlement was having a relatively small, but primarily negative, influence on farming in the area. Farmers also tended to note the wider effects on farming in the area rather than the effects on their own operations.

In many cases, notably in the area of social impact, farmers were ambivalent about resettlement. Positive changes (e.g., support for schools, churches, etc.), they felt, were often offset by negative effects (e.g., disruption of the rural lifestyle and community). Ambivalence was, in fact, the most salient feature of farmers' overall reactions towards resettlement.

Even government agricultural representatives in the area had ambivalent feelings towards resettlement. While they thought resettlement was providing general economic and, to a lesser extent, social stimulus to the area, they were concerned about the

increasing competition for farmland. They thought a segment of the resettlement population was contributing (or would eventually contribute) to agriculture, but there was concern over the lack of preparedness and responsibility of some resettlers as landowners and members of the rural community. Analysis of the reactions of farmers and agricultural representatives towards resettlement indicates a wide variation in responses to its impact in the area and substantiates the foregoing summary discussion of resettlement itself.

7.2 The Implications of Resettlement

The analysis of recent resettlement in the study area indicates that it has had a significant impact on the farmland resource and on the local economy and community. The extent of this influence can be readily appreciated through reference to Map 1. Resettlement, in effect, represents a new and energetic physical and socio-economic influence in the rural/agricultural system of the study area. At the time of the study, resettlement did not seem to pose any real threat to the area; on the contrary, rural life received a much needed revitalization. At least in the short-term, the resettlers have been beneficial to the rural area in many ways.

However, since scattered resettlement seems likely to continue (especially in Ontario where there is a lack of effective controls), further subdivision of good quality farmland, escalation of farmland values, and re-orientation of the local economy will probably be detrimental to agriculture in the long-run. There are signs that agriculture is already being affected, especially in areas of the country where resettlement has been occurring over a long period of time (for example, southern Ontario). A recent resurgence of Quebec agriculture is due in part to the institution of the Agricultural Lands Protection Act of 1978 which prevents the subdivision of farmland and therefore discourages resettlement in agricultural areas. The contrasting lack of direct provincial control over farmland subdivision in Ontario has been criticized in a recent report (ICURR, 1980). The more flexible municipal approach to subdivision on the Ontario side of the study area will probably continue to attract resettlement that might otherwise have occurred in Quebec.

The present results, in conjunction with those of other studies, indicate that it is possible to present only a general and limited characterization of resettlement and its impact in rural areas. Early stages of resettlement are often characterized by exurbanites' enthusiastic pursuit of a change in lifestyle, ambivalence in the farming community, and physical and socio-economic revitalization of the rural area. With time, as scattered resettlement continues and/or as exurbanites' enthusiasm wanes, the longer-term impact can become detrimental.

The actual impact of resettlement, however, will depend on the characteristics of the particular rural area in question and the characteristics and intentions of the resettlers. For example, much of the farmland purchased by resettlers in the study area was not in intensive agricultural use on the date of purchase, and the resettlers have generally intensified agricultural use since the date of purchase. In areas where the potential for agricultural improvement is not

great, exurbanites may have a different impact on land use. The strict implementation of farmland-subdivision policy is a characteristic of the province of Quebec and will likely result in a lower rate of subdivision and resettlement in that province than in the province of Ontario. Similar studies of resettlement in other regions (e.g., the Maritimes and central and western Canada) will probably present somewhat different pictures of resettlement. Even in a particular rural area the impact of resettlement at any point in time is not likely to be entirely favourable or unfavourable.

7.2.1 Implications for Government Policy

It may be possible to minimize the adverse effects of resettlement and maximize its benefits through the implementation of more effective government policy. An effective means lies in strengthening the agricultural industry to assure that quality farmland remains in agricultural use. This might be accomplished simply by increasing the returns to farmers for agricultural produce. Alternatively, the adverse effects of increasing land values could be offset through, for example, differential assessment of farmland, use of preferential farm loans, or implementation of farmland-banking schemes. As part of a program intended to strengthen agriculture, exurbanites who demonstrate an interest in commercial farming should be encouraged by increased eligibility for government support. The small proportion of resettlers who are serious about agriculture should be regarded as a valuable resource. As observed recently by Walker (1979), even part-time farming operations of resettlers may be an important part of the overall agricultural structure and a means of keeping farmland in agricultural use.

The adverse effects of urbanization (i.e., resettlement) must also be minimized by stricter implementation of farmland-preservation policy. In a country with a relatively small amount of good agricultural land, farmland preservation has become widely recognized as a desireable end. Rural municipalities have largely been unable to cope with increasing urban pressures, and provincial governments have been forced to adopt various province-wide approaches to achieve the preservation of farmland (Robinson, 1977). In fact, the urbanization of rural areas has been occurring at such a rapid pace that it has been necessary (in British Columbia and, more recently, in Quebec) to designate high quality farmland solely for agricultural use.

In an economic system where governments support a cheap food policy, agriculture cannot compete for the use of farmland with higher-yielding, urban-oriented uses. The only viable alternative in our economic system may be to separate land markets on the basis of their capability for agricultural production; in effect, only farmers should be able to compete for the use of high quality farmland. While it may not always be practical to implement a strict zoning policy, the establishment of agricultural zones would separate buyers interested in agriculture from the potential urban-oriented users of farmland and would effectively stop unfair competition for farmland. The idea of zoning is of course not a new idea, but one whose acceptance has won much recent support in provinces where agriculture is seriously threatened by urbanization. Piece-meal

government support for agriculture and flexible farmland-preservation policies have been insufficient in establishing a stable investment climate for the agricultural industry. The zoning of agricultural land may be the only effective means of halting the urbanization of agricultural areas.

Specifically in regard to resettlement, country residential development should be redirected towards existing settlements (i.e., hamlets, villages) and/or pockets of lower quality farmland in agricultural areas. The demand for country residential development will raise the value of land in areas zoned for that purpose, but would have no effect on the value of adjacent agricultural land. At the same time, by allowing country residential development to continue (even though in designated areas), rural areas could continue to reap the benefits of socio-economic revitalization.

7.2.2 Research Needs

In areas of the country where flexible approaches to farmland preservation prevail, more research is required to document the effects of resettlement and to resolve ambiguities in past research. Many researchers have pointed to some specific areas of concern:

1) comparative analysis between urban fringe/urban shadow studies of resettlement (Troughton, 1976a, b; Russwurm, 1974; Bryant, 1976);
2) further evidence of the relationship between land ownership and land-use change (Munton, 1974; Punter, 1974; Bryant, 1976; McRae, 1977), and further documentation of the effects of resettlement (Parlby, 1979);
3) more studies on the effectiveness of planning instruments in the control of resettlement (Manning and Eddy, 1979; Kienholz, 1980).

Resettlement has affected most of the heavily-settled portion of Canada, and, in particular, the Windsor-Quebec axis of which the study area is a part. The demand for land by exurbanites is likely to continue in the 1980s, especially in rapidly developing parts of western Canada. While recent and future increases in oil and gasoline prices may be indirectly effective in controlling resettlement, rapid growth of the phenomenon and its implications in prime agricultural areas of Canada clearly indicate that there is an urgent need for more research and particularly for more comprehensive policy implementation.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

FOR EXURBANITES IN THE STUDY AREA

September, 1979

Questionnaire No. 1 Exurbanites

We (myself and one other individual) are doing a research project for the federal Department of the Environment. The intent of the project is to determine what kinds of effects urban people are having in rural areas and we would like to ask you a few questions.

(Go to Page 2)

PART ONE: Questionnaire Identification (to be completed after the interview)

1. Interview Number _____

2. Interview Date _____

3. Types of respondent
   _____ 1. single owner
   _____ 2. joint family owners
   _____ 3. partnership
   _____ 4. Corporation
   _____ 5. Other

4. Location of property sampled. Township _____

5. CLI Classification for Agriculture _____% Classes 1-3.

_____

"Thumbnail Sketch"

Part Two: Property

The first questions concern your land and your reasons for purchase.

6. How much land did you originally purchase in this area? _____ (acres)

7. On what date was the original purchase made?

   Mo._____ Year _____

8. Was this land contained in one or more separate parcels already, or was subdivision required?

   _____ 1. 1 parcel
   _____ 2. Subdivision
   _____ 3. 2 or more parcels.

9. Have you bought any more land in this area since the original purchase?

   _____ 1. yes
   _____ 2. no

   If yes, a) how much? _____
   b) where is it located? _____ Township.
   c) why?

10. Have you sold any land from the original purchase?

    _____ 1. yes
    _____ 2. no

    If yes, a) how much? _____
    b) why?

11. How much land do you own in this area now? _____ acres

_____ Township

_____ Lot

_____ Concession

12. Do you intend to buy or sell more land in this area?

_____ buy

_____ sell

_____ no

_____ don't know

If yes, why?

13. Why did you decide to buy land in a rural area?

14. Why did you decide to buy land in this particular location?

15. Was the price of land a factor? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

16. Were taxes a consideration? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

17. Did you consider it an investment? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

18. Was your livelihood a consideration? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

19. Where the characteristics of the property itself important?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

20. Was it important to have access to urban areas?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

21. Was a location in this province important? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, could you explain?

22. Are there any other reasons? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, what are they?

23. Before you purchased this particular property, did the previous owner(s) live _____ 1. on this property?

_____ 2. elsewhere in the area?

_____ 3. elsewhere?

24. Does he (she,they) live in this area now? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

_____ 3. don't know

25. What was the previous owner's occupation? _____

26. As far as you know, why did the previous owners sell this property?

Part Three: Land Utilization

At this point, I'd like to ask a few questions about the use of your land.

27. Do you rent land out or in at present? _____ 1. out

_____ 2. in

_____ 3. no

If yes, a) how much? _____

b) why? _____

c) how long is the term of the lease? _____

28. (Fill in the answers to the following questions in the following table)

On the date of purchase, what land uses existed on the property you <u>now</u> own? For example, (go to the table...)

At present, what land uses exist on the property you <u>now</u> own? For example, (go to the table...)

LAND UTILIZATION			
	On the Date of Purchase	At Present	
Land Use	Acres Owned	Acres Owned	r.o. .r.i.*
Total Cropland			
- small grains			
- corn			
- hay			
- other			
Improved Pasture			
Rough Pasture			
Woodland			
Unused (idle)			
- tillable - non-tillable			
Non-Agricultural (i.e. occupied by bldg. etc.)			
Total Acreage			

* r.o. - rented out
r.i. - rented in

29. Do you intend to change the use of your land? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no
_____ 3. don't know

If yes, a) in what way

b) why?

30. How would you rate your land for agricultural use?

_____ 1. excellent
_____ 2. good
_____ 3. fair
_____ 4. poor
_____ 5. none

Why?

Part Four: Occupation and Farming Income

31. (to chief wage-earner)
Before you purchased land in this area, what was your primary occupation? _____

Where did you work? _____ location

How far was it to work? _____ miles

How long did it take you? _____ minutes

How often did you travel to work? _____ dys/wk

32. (To chief wage-earner)
What is your primary occupation at present? _____

Where do you work? _____ location

How far is it to work? _____ miles

How long does it take you? _____ minutes

How often do you travel to work? _____ dys/wk

33. At present, are you personally involved in farming?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, a) how many hours per week do you devote to farming? _____

b) what types of farm animals do you have? _____

_____

_____

c) for what jobs do you use custom work? _____

_____

_____

If no, do you plan to farm in the future? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

_____ 3. don't know

If yes, what type of farm would you operate? _____

34. Did you sell any farm products in 1978? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, a) what types of products did you sell? _____

_____

_____

b) where your farm operating expenses

_____ 1. less than

_____ 2. about the same

or _____ 3. greater than

your farm product sales?

Part Five: Respondent Information

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about yourself.

35. When were you born? _____

36. What is your marital status?

_____ 1. single _____ 4. separated

_____ 2. married _____ 5. widowed

_____ 3. divorced

37. (If applicable) How many children do you have? _____

How many children are still living with you? _____

38. What is the highest year you have completed in school?

_____ husband _____ wife

If beyond high school, what was your major subject?

_____

39. Have you any further courses or training? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, what? _____

40. Do you have more than 1 residence? _____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If yes, number? _____

Where is your principal residence? _____

41. What was your total family income from all sources in 1978?

_____ 1. 5 _____ 4. 15-20 _____ 7. 30-

_____ 2. 5-10 _____ 5. 20-25

_____ 3. 10-15 _____ 6. 25-30

42. Since buying this property, what major expenditures have you made on:

	Cost	Location of Expenditure
a) the land?	_____	_____
b) the house and non-farm buildings?	_____	_____
c) the farm buildings?	_____	_____
d) machinery and equip't?	_____	_____
e) other?	_____	_____

43. What further expenditures do you intend to make?

Type	Cost	Location
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

44. Since buying this property, for what jobs have you hired local contractors?

_____

_____

_____

Part Seven: Social Influence

45. At present, are you personally involved in any local:

church activities? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

school activities? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

cultural activities? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

government activities? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

other activities? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

If no, do you intend to become involved? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

Why or why not?

46. Do you feel accepted in the local community? _____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

Why or why not?

47. In retrospect, how would you rate your decision to move to this area?

_____ 1. excellent
_____ 2. good
_____ 3. fair
_____ 4. poor
_____ 5. very poor

Why?

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

FOR FARMERS IN THE STUDY AREA

September, 1979

Questionnaire No. 2 Farmers

We (myself and one other individual) are doing a research project for the federal Department of the Environment. The intent of the project is to determine what kinds of effects urban people are having in rural areas and we would like to ask you a few questions.

(Go to Page 2)

Part One: Questionnaire Identification (to be completed after the interview)

1. Interview Number _____

2. Interview Date _____

3. Type of Respondent _____ 1. single owner
_____ 2. joint family owners
_____ 3. partnership
_____ 4. Corporation
_____ 5. Other

"Thumbnail Sketch"

Part Two: Farm Operation

4. How long have you owned/operated this farm? _____

5. What type of farm do you operate? _____

6. How many day per year do you work off the farm?

_____ %

7. How many acres do you own? _____

operate? _____

8. How much land do you rent in? _____

If you rent land

a) why do you rent land rather than purchase more?

b) is it from a _____ 1. full-time farmer?

_____ 2. part-time farmer?

_____ 3. hobby farmer?

or _____ 4. non-farmer?

c) how long is the term of the lease? _____

d) what do you use the rented land for? _____

e) have you made any improvements to this rented land?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

f) how important is the rented land to your farming operation?

_____ 1. very important

_____ 2. important

_____ 3. moderately important

_____ 4. of small importance

_____ 5. of no importance

why?

9. Over the past 5-10 years, has the price of farmland:

_____ 1. increased a lot?

_____ 2. increased a little?

_____ 3. stayed about the same?

How does this affect you and your farm operation?

Part Three: Respondent Information

10. When were you born? _____

11. What is your marital status?

_____ 1. single _____ 4. divorced

_____ 2. married _____ 5. separated

_____ 3. widowed

12. (If applicable) How many children do you have? _____

How many children are still living with you?

Part Four: Perception of Exurbanites

One of the sources of concern for farming and agriculture today is the movement of people from the city to rural areas.

13. Have you noticed any movement of people from the city to this area?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

If no, questionnaire ends.

If yes, do you know any of these people personally?

_____ 1. yes

_____ 2. no

14. What are your general feelings about this?

15. How much effect do you thinks this has had on:

a) the community in this area? 1 2 3 4 5 Key:

1. very great
2. great
3. moderate
4. small
5. none

Why?

b) businesses and services? 1 2 3 4 5

Why?

c) farming in the area? 1 2 3 4 5

Why?

d) your farm operation? 1 2 3 4 5

Why?

APPENDIX III

TABULAR DATA

Table 2.1

Farm Population, Number of Farms, Farmland Area, Average Farm Size - 1961 to 1976

	Study Area				Percentage Change of Study Area			
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76	1961-76
Farm Population	21,037	19,869	14,449	9,389	-7	-27	-35	-55
Number of farms	4,520	4,102	3,242	2,441	-9	-21	-25	-46
Farmland Area (hectares)	276,192	267,710	234,838	208,188	-3	-22	-11	-25
Average Farm Size (hectares)	61	65	72	85	+7	+11	+18	+39

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963 a, b; 1968 b, c.
Statistics Canada, 1973 a, b; 1978 a, b.

Table 2.2

The Use of Farmland - 1961 to 1976

Use \ Year	Study Area							
	1961		1966		1971		1976	
	Area (ha)	% of Total	Area (ha)	% of Total	Area (ha)	% of Total	Area (ha)	% of Total
Under Crops	133,894	48.5	136,406	50.9	115,547	49.2	117,842	56.6
Improved Pasture	55,662	20.2	52,958	19.8	48,390	20.6	81,802	15.9
Other Improved	6,601	2.4	6,270	2.3	7,413	3.2	5,595	2.7
Unimproved	80,035	29.0	72,077	26.9	63,489	27.0	51,657	24.8
Total Farmland	276,192	100.0	267,711	100.0	234,839	100.0	208,189	100.0

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963 a, b; 1968 b, c.
Statistics Canada, 1973 a, b; 1978 a, b.

Table 2.3

Proportion of Farms by Product Type - 1976

Product Type*	% of Total Farms		
	Study Area	Ontario	Quebec
Dairy	54.7	22.7	52.2
Cattle, Hogs, Sheep	20.1	36.6	20.5
Poultry	3.6	2.3	3.4
Field Crops**	11.2	21.8	10.0
Mixed	4.6	7.6	4.5
Miscellaneous Specialty	4.4	3.6	3.8
Other***	1.5	5.4	5.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

* A product-type farm is one where 51% or more of sales are from a given sales category.

** Includes wheat, small grains, field crops.

*** Includes fruit and vegetables, forestry.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Census of Agriculture data base.

Table 2.4

Farm Tenure - 1961 to 1976

Tenure	Study Area			
	1961	1966	1971	1976
% Owner-Operated	80.4	80.6	75.9	66.4
% Part Owner-Part Tenant	16.0	16.6	21.3	31.3
% Tenant	3.1	2.3	2.8	2.2
% Other	0.4	0.5	-	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963 a, b; 1968 b, c.
Statistics Canada, 1973 a, b; 1978 a, b.

Table 2.5

Increases in the Value of Land, CPI, and FIPI - 1961 to 1976

	Average Value per Hectare ($)				Changes in Land Value (%)				
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76	1961-71	1961-76
Study Area	29.3	39.0	61.2	160.1	33	57	162	109	446
Ontario side	28.4	37.5	58.9	156.4	32	57	166	108	451
Quebec side	41.3	56.6	89.1	198.4	37	57	123	116	380
Ontario	56.0	78.3	147.3	357.6	40	88	143	163	539
Quebec	28.9	36.4	53.0	112.1	26	46	112	83	288
Consumer Price Index	75.0	83.5	100.0	148.9	11	20	49	33	98
Farm Input Price Index	73.5	87.1	100.0	172.8	19	15	73	36	135

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1973 a, b; 1978 a, b; 1980 a, b and unpublished data.

Table 3.1

Original and Present Holding Sizes of the Resettlers

Holding Size	Original		Present	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 1 ha	20	15.9	21	16.7
1-4 ha	28	22.2	25	19.8
5-12 ha	14	11.1	16	12.7
13-20 ha	16	12.7	16	12.7
21-41 ha	27	21.4	25	19.8
More than 41 ha	21	16.7	23	18.3
TOTAL	126	100.0	126	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

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Table 3.2

Age and Education of the Resettlers by Sex

	Men		Women	
	Number	% Reporting	Number	% Reporting
Age Group				
20-29	13	10.6	21	19.1
30-39	36	29.2	35	31.8
40-49	33	26.8	29	26.4
50-59	28	22.8	15	13.6
60	13	10.6	10	9.1
No response	1	---	11	---
TOTAL	124	100.0	121	100.0
Average Age	44		41	
Years of Education Completed				
1-8	21	17.2	15	12.7
9-12	50	41.0	61	51.7
13-16	33	27.0	32	27.1
16	18	14.8	10	8.5
No response	2	---	3	---
TOTAL	124	100.0	121	100.0
Average Years Completed	12		12	

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 3.3

Family Income and Former Occupation of the Resettler

	Number	Percent Reporting
Family Income ($000's)		
10	14	11.7
10-14.9	16	13.3
15-19.9	21	17.5
20-24.9	10	8.3
25-29.9	19	15.8
30	40	33.3
No response	6	-
TOTAL	126	100.0
Former Occupation		
Professional	40	31.7
Managerial/Official	21	16.7
Blue Collar	40	31.7
White Collar	11	8.7
Self-Employed	4	3.2
Mixed Occupations	7	5.6
Retired	2	1.6
Other Occupations	1	0.8
TOTAL	126	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 3.4

Reasons for Purchasing Rural Land

Reason / Responses	Number	% of Responses (N=215)	% of Responses (N=126)
Change of Lifestyle	106	49.3	84.1
Farming Intention	32	14.9	25.4
Return to Rural Area	22	10.2	17.5
Self-Sufficiency/Cheaper	16	7.4	12.7
Rural Activity	12	5.6	9.5
Family Considerations	11	5.1	8.7
Retirement Intention	8	3.7	6.3
Investment	4	1.9	3.2
Other Reasons	4	1.9	3.2
TOTAL RESPONSES	215*	100.0	

* Some of the 126 respondents had more than one response to each question.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 3.5

Reasons for Purchasing Land in the Study Area

Reason / Responses	Number	% of Responses (N=205)	% of Responses (N=126)
Access to Urban Areas	44	21.5	35.9
Social/Community Influence	44	21.5	35.9
Available/Accidental	24	11.7	19.0
Price of Land	24	11.7	19.0
Ontario vs Quebec	23	11.2	18.3
Location re: roads, services	14	6.8	11.1
Physical Characteristics	14	6.8	11.1
Good farm/farmland	7	3.4	5.6
Employment	5	2.4	4.0
Other reasons	6	2.9	4.8
TOTAL RESPONSES	205*	100.0	

* Some of the 126 respondents had more than one response to each question.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 3.6

Important Characteristics of the Properties

Characteristics \ Responses	Number	Percentage of Responses (N=223)	Percentage of Responses (N=126)
House/Buildings	45	20.2	35.7
Woodland/Trees	44	19.7	34.9
Farm/fertile/farmland	33	14.8	26.2
Location re: roads, services	26	11.7	20.6
View/picturesque	22	9.9	17.5
Topography	17	7.6	13.5
Shape/size of property	16	7.2	12.7
Pond/stream	12	5.4	9.5
Other (e.g., climate)	8	3.6	6.3
TOTAL RESPONSES	223*	100.0	

* Some of the 126 respondents had more than one response to each question.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 4.1

Soil Capability of the Resettlers' Landholdings

Responses / Percentage in Soil Capability Class 1-3	No. of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents (N=80)
0	10	12.5
1-20	3	3.8
21-40	7	8.8
41-60	11	13.8
61-80	12	15.0
81-100	37	46.3
Missing*	46	-
TOTAL	126	100.0

* Includes properties of less than 4 hectares.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 4.2

The Effects of Resettlement on the Use of Farmland

Use of Land*	Date of Purchase				1979			
	Number Reporting	Area (ha)	% of Total	% of Cropland	Number Reporting	Area (ha)	% of Total	% of Cropland
Cropland	57	913	34.6		63	1,131	42.9	
- grains/corn	29	261		28.6	40	447		39.5
- hay/other	50	652		71.4	55	684		60.5
Pasture	40	480	18.2		38	420	15.9	
Woodland/Other Unimp.	67	690	26.1		72	707	26.8	
Idle	53	475	18.0		41	274	10.4	
Other (e.g., buildings)	98	79	3.0		126	105	4.0	
TOTAL AREA		2,637	100.0			2,637	100.0	

* The acreages in each use are estimates by the respondents.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 4.3

Average Value per Hectare of Land and Buildings in Resettlers' Transactions

Property Size Group (ha)	1972-1975		1976-1979		Percent Change
	Average Value $	Number Reporting	Average Value $	Number Reporting	
Less than 1 ha	2,427	5	6,380	13	+163%
1-4 ha	2,111	8	3,808	15	+ 80%
5-12 ha	250	9	-	-	
13-20 ha	131	11	332	4	+153%
21-41 ha	154	16	238	7	+ 55%
More than 41 ha	103	14	229	1	+122%

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.1

Occupations of the Previous Owners

Occupation / Previous Owners	Number Reporting	Percentage of Respondents (N=122)
Professional	13	10.7
Managerial/Official	6	4.9
Self-Employed	3	2.5
White Collar	11	9.0
Blue Collar	18	14.8
Mixed Occupations	5	4.1
Retired	27	22.1
Farmers	33	27.0
Other Occupations	6	4.9
No Response	4	-
TOTAL	126	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.2

Previous Owners' Probable Reasons for Selling the Land

Reasons / Responses	Number Reporting	Percentage of Total Responses
Age/Retirement/Health	45	31.2
Financial Problems	29	20.1
Unsuitable Lifestyle	30	20.8
Speculation	17	11.8
Required Bigger/Better Farm/Property	8	5.6
Transferred	3	2.1
Unemployed	3	2.1
Other	9	6.3
TOTAL RESPONSES	144	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.3

Former and Present Occupations of the Chief Wage-Earners

Occupation	Before Purchase		1979	
	Number	% of Total Respondents	Number	% of Total Respondents
Professional	40	31.7	28	22.4
Managerial/Official	21	16.7	19	15.2
Blue Collar	40	31.7	32	25.6
White Collar	11	8.7	9	7.2
Self-Employed	4	3.2	2	1.6
Mixed Occupations	7	5.6	10	8.0
Retired	2	1.6	16	12.8
Farmers	0	-	9	7.2
Other Occupations	1	0.8	0	-
No Response	0	-	1	-
TOTAL	126	100.0	126	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.4

Former and Present Locations of Work for the Chief Wage-Earners

Location	Before Purchase		1979	
	Number	% of Total Respondents	Number	% of Total Respondents
Montreal	89	71.8	45	40.9
Ottawa	17	13.7	5	4.5
Cornwall	9	7.3	16	14.5
Hawkesbury	5	4.0	5	4.6
Other urban	2	1.6	4	3.6
Study area	2	1.6	35	31.8
No Response*	2	-	16	-
TOTAL	126	100.0	126	100.0

* This includes retired people who, of course, have no work location.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.5

Types and Amounts of Major Expenditures by the Resettlers

Type of Expenditure	Amount		Number Reporting*	% of Total Respondents (N=126)
	$	% of Total		
House	2,448,000	63.8	113	89.7
Farm Buildings	622,000	16.2	47	37.3
Machinery & Equipment	516,000	13.4	65	51.6
Land**	166,000	4.3	44	34.9
Other	87,000	2.3	12	9.5
TOTAL	3,839,000	100.0		

* Some of the 126 respondents had more than one response to each question.
** Includes expenditures on brush/tree removal, fencing, and drainage.

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 5.6

Social Activity of the Resettlers

Activity \ Respondents	Number	% of Responses (N=134)	% of Respondents (N=126)
Cultural	60	44.8	49.2
School	30	22.4	23.8
Church	27	20.1	21.4
Government	6	4.4	4.8
Other	11	8.2	8.7
TOTAL RESPONSES	134	100.0	

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 6.1

Effects of Increasing Land Values

Response	Number of Responses	% of Total Responses (N=120)	% of Total Respondents (N=90)
Difficult to/Can't Buy Land	50	41.7	55.6
Raises Value of Farm	21	17.5	23.3
Increases Costs	6	5.0	6.7
Other Benefits	5	4.2	5.6
Other	3	2.4	3.3
No Effect	35	29.2	38.9
TOTAL RESPONSES	120	100.0	

SOURCE: Questionnaire.

Table 6.2

General Feelings Towards Resettlement (Multiple Responses)

Direction / Feeling	Positive		Pos./Neg.		Negative	
	Number	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Economic Benefits/Disadvantages	36	28.8	13	16.9	10	7.5
Rental of Land	24	19.2	14	18.2	2	1.5
Social Benefits/Disadvantages	20	16.0	27	35.1	21	15.9
OK - Freedom of Choice/ Not OK - Needs Controls	16	12.8	3	3.9	15	11.4
Buying Poor/Good Land	11	8.8	2	2.6	8	6.1
Building Maintenance	9	7.2	0	-	1	0.8
Good/Poor Farmers	0	-	1	1.3	22	16.7
Land Use	9	7.2	13	16.9	36	27.3
Other Positive/Negative	0	-	4	5.2	17	12.9
TOTAL RESPONSES	125	100.0	77	100.0	132	100.0

SOURCE: Questionnaire

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